DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 120 077 SO 008 986

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TITLE The Bicentennial American History Series.
INSTITUTION Philadelphia School District, Pa. Office of Curriculum and Instruction.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 95p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Class Activities; Democracy; Foreign Policy; *History Instruction; Industrial Relations; Instructional Materials; Interdisciplinary Approach; Negro History; Primary Sources; Resource Materials; Revolutionary War (United States); Secondary Education; Slavery; *Social Studies Units; Strikes; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS *Bicentennial

ABSTRACT

Designed to supplement secondary United States history courses, this resource booklet provides materials on four dramatic incidents in American history. The four events under examination include the Boston Massacre, the Denmark Vesey Slave Revolt, the Republic Steel Strike of 1937, and the Berlin Airlift of 1948. Each unit contains social background to the event, a description of the events leading to the incident, a description of what happened, a summary of important outcomes of the incident, a list of suggested student activities, related matters for consideration, and a bibliography. The related matters for consideration include additional student activities, value-oriented discussion questions, and appropriate instructional strategies on related political, economic, and social concepts inherent in the events. The unit on the Republic Steel strike may be integrated into economics or sociology courses since the strike reflects attitudes, ideas, and actions of labor, management, and government. Since the Berlin airlift unit explores the powers of the presidency in the area of foreign policy, it may be used in political science or international relations courses. (Author/DE)

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THE BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

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NOTE TO THE TEACHER

This is a series of monographs which use dramatic incidents in American history to illustrate important trends and concepts of an interdisciplinary nature. This approach is an attempt to acquaint students with important ideas while lessening the emphasis on comprehensive chronological coverage.

Each unit will provide some background for the event, the things which led up to it, a description of what happened, and a summary of important outcomes. Most important, related matters for consideration will be identified, and appropriate instructional strategies for presenting them will be suggested. All the material can be duplicated and given to the students. A bibliography for students and teachers is also included.

It is suggested that teachers use these monographs as part of the American history program. The units provide an analysis of four incidents in American history and enable the teacher to augment the "survey approach" with some in-depth historical investigation designed for students.

As part of the social science program, an examination of THE REPUBLIC STEEL STRIKE can be incorporated in either the economics or sociology phases of the program. The strike reflects the attitudes, ideas, and actions of labor, management, and government in the 1930's and is a classic example of groups locked in conflict.

THE BERLIN AIRLIFT can be used as part of a political science or international relations project. This event explores the powers of the Presidency in the area of foreign policy. It also details the factors which precipitated a crisis that involved the superpowers and their satellites. Both the people and the issues which influence and make foreign policy can be seen through the prism of this post World War II problem.

Teachers requiring assistance with the materials are asked to consult the Division of Social Studies Education, 299-7797.

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DEMOCRACY IS ALWAYS A BECKONING GOAL, NOT A SAFE HARBOR. FOR FREEDOM IS AN UNREMITTING ENDEAVOR, NEVER A FINAL ACHIEVEMENT.

— Felix Frankfurter

The materials in this series were prepared and written by:

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult enough to talk about the character of an individual; it is even more difficult to talk about the character of a nation.

Foreign observers in early times commented on the absence of social distinctions in America as compared to Europe. Freedom and equality are central values in American history. Crevecoeur in his description of America emphasized that here was a land where every man could be free, independent, and respected. However, Crevecoeur also observed that the system of slavery was entrenched and expanding.

Any society, particularly one dedicated to the high ideals to which we have dedicated ourselves, needs critics to remind it that it has not always done what it said it would do.

With the concepts of freedom and equality went the concepts of independence and self-reliance. It was these qualities of character upon which Jefferson rested his hope for a sound democracy, a country of self-made men and women where individuals would have the opportunity to achieve their potential.

Other traits of the American character might include: a concern for the practical; until recently, a sense of pervasive optimism; and with the advent of World Wars I and II, a global concern for the oppressed.

Freedom is the essence of the American dream. "Freedom," said Archibald MacLeish, "means that a man is free of the constant attrition of other people's suspicion and denigration, and this achieved is what America is."

Each of the Bicentennial monographs which comprise this publication examines some of the political, economic, and social concepts inherent in the American pageant, introduces primary sources and seeks to help the student understand the processes used by the historian in his attempt to interpret four incidents which reflect aspects of the American character.

As America moves into the final quarter of the twentieth century, the Bicentennial provides us with the motivation to examine the American past and to explore present issues that may influence the direction in which this society will move as it enters the twenty-first century.

HAROLD KESSLER

THE BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

Monograph 1: The Boston Massacre

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND

In the colonies in 1770, the largest and most cosmopolitan city was Philadelphia. With a population estimated between 28,000 and 40,000 it was probably the second largest city in the British empire, second only to London. (The word "probably" is used because population estimates then were not as accurate as they are now.)

New York City had a population of less than 30,000, and Boston's population was about 20,000 - just five times as numerous as the student body of a large Philadelphia high school.

Philadelphia had brick streets with paved sidewalks, street lamps, and shaded walks lined with 500 public water pumps where the local citizenry could slake their thirst.

The first paid night watch in the colonies was established in Philadelphia in 1751. The watchmen were instructed to patrol the streets from 10 p. m. to 4 a. m. and to call out the hours of the night.

The first hospital in North America, Pennsylvania Hospital, was established in Philadelphia in 1751; and the only medical college in the colonies, was established in 1765, as part of the College of Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania.

In 1766 in Benjamin Franklin's Junto, a group that met weekly, a proposed topic was, "Is it advantageous to admit women into the Councils of State?" The decision was negative because it would "destroy the peace of families."

Every colony maintained the death penalty for murder, treason, and insurrection. Some colonies inflicted the death penalty for other offenses as well.

There were comparatively fewer prisons in the colonies in 1770 than there are now. Punishment for relatively minor crimes was inflicted publicly using such devices as the ducking stool, stocks, the pillory, and the whipping post.

In every colony, one could be imprisoned for debt, and in some colonies those imprisoned for debt were placed with those who had committed violent crimes. It was not unusual for debtors to stay in prison beyond their sentence because they could not pay the jailer's fee.

In 1767 the food allowance for Philadelphia's imprisoned debtors was two pennies a day. In 1770 an imprisoned debtor starved to death, an incident which prompted an investigation of the city's penal system.

Everyone was expected to marry both for economic and for social reasons. Women would marry as early as thirteen years of age. One colonist wrote, "She that stays [unmarried] 'til twenty is reckoned a stale [sic] maid." To encourage marriage some colonies placed taxes on bachelors.

Families were large. Curtis Nettels in THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION has written; "Families of ten or twelve children were considered common; those of twenty or twenty-five were not considered phenomenal. Patrick Henry was one of

nineteen; John Marshall the first of fifteen.... In Pennsylvania it was estimated that four in ten died before the age of sixteen."

In colonial America there was little interest in spectator sports. To be interested in sports meant that one played sports. The most popular sports were wrestling, racing, football (very much like today's soccer which in England is still called football), and cricket.

The estimated total population of the colonies in 1770 was slightly in excess of two million. Of that number over 450,000 were Blacks. The most populous colony was Virginia. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were about tied for second place.

Since the population was small, there was a continuing need for labor. Wages were between 50% to 100% higher than in England.

Working hours were generally sunup to sunset. One could expect to work at least a 60-hour week.

In Boston, as in most northern cities, roughly two thirds of the people were working class and lower middle class - shipbuilders, tailors, cabinet makers, small tradesmen and their families. These people seemed to suffer the most during the periodic depressions that occurred between 1760 and 1775. Carl Bridenbaugh in CITIES IN REVOLT has observed that this "depressed state of affairs... sustained a state of tension and discontent which, combined with [the workers'] inability to seek redress politically, made them willing listeners to the men who preached about liberty."

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE MASSACRE

1. The emergence of a new British Imperial Policy after 1763 signaled the end of "salutary neglect."
2. The Proclamation of 1763.
3. The Sugar Act of 1764.
4. The Stamp Act of 1765.
5. Colonial reaction on various levels and by various means.
6. Townshend Acts.
7. Revived use of writs of assistance.
8. British troops stationed in Boston in 1768.
9. Conflict between the troops and the citizenry.
10. February 1770, public feeling was inflamed by the funeral of a twelve-year old apprentice killed by a British sympathizer who was being harassed by a mob.
11. First week of March 1770, a street fight between the soldiers and a group of ropemakers (Friday, March 2) ended with an implicit understanding that it would be resumed on Monday, March 5. On Friday afternoon, a handbill was posted by the soldiers informing the people of Boston that the soldiers were determined to join together and defend themselves against all opponents. By late afternoon there was much tension in the City of Boston.

EVENTS OF MARCH 5

1. A band of soldiers was confronted by a group of working-class adults and young apprentices.
2. Soldiers withdrew, but the fire alarm was rung by someone, and a large group of people gathered.
3. The main guard was called out to protect a beleaguered sentry.
4. A confrontation ensued between the soldiers with Captain Preston in command and the townspeople with Crispus Attucks in front.
5. Stones and snow and ice were thrown, and seven shots were fired. Three men were killed instantly, one died the next morning, and one died nine days later.
6. The crowd scattered, the soldiers withdrew, and the crowd returned to take away the dead and wounded.

Dead were:

Caldwell, Carr, Maverick	bystanders who probably turned out at the sound of the firebell.
Gray	a ropemaker.
Attucks	a black sailor employed on a whaling ship lying in Boston Harbor.

OUTCOMES

1. To calm the town, Lt. Governor Hutchinson removed the troops and arrested Capt. Preston and eight soldiers.

2. The Sons of Liberty used the incident to stir up anti-British sentiment. They met with only moderate success.

3. More moderate anti-British forces feared that these events would discredit their cause because of the "excesses" of the Boston "mob."

4. The events of March 5 hastened a reaction among colonial aristocrats to the lawlessness of the "mob." Said one, "It's high time a stop was put to mobbing without which property will soon be very precarious."

5. The trial of Capt. Preston and the soldiers occurred in September and October, 1770. It resulted in the acquittal of Preston and six soldiers. Two soldiers were convicted of manslaughter and branded on the thumb.

6. The radicals were disappointed at the verdict. They wanted a conviction for propaganda purposes.

SUGGESTED STUDENT ACTIVITIES

1. Visit the historic areas of Philadelphia to see firsthand what life was like in colonial Philadelphia. A series of slides with a cassette is available from the National Park Service, c/o Independence Hall, to acquaint students with the redevelopment of this area and to prepare students for a visit.

2. Discuss and debate the merits of the death penalty in light of its common use in the colonial period and its restricted use under recent Supreme Court rulings.

3. Discuss and debate the differences between Philadelphia prisons in the colonial period and today. Find out if any similarities exist.

4. Compare and contrast family life in colonial Philadelphia with family life in America today. Trace the changes in the role of women.

5. List reasons why the Black population of the United States makes up a smaller percentage of the population today than it did in 1770.

6. Compare and contrast the typical day of the skilled worker in 1770 with today's skilled worker.

7. Construct a time line with the important events between 1763 and 1776. Pinpoint the date of the Boston Massacre.

8. Role-play a student of 1770 who has observed the events of March 5. Write a newspaper account of these events in an objective manner using the facts presented.

9. Debate the actions of Lt. Governor Hutchinson in removing the eight soldiers and arresting Captain Preston. Was he simply bowing to public pressure?

10. Write an editorial from the viewpoint of the Sons of Liberty using the incident to stir up anti-British sentiment.

11. Write an editorial from the viewpoint of the colonial aristocrat who feared the lawlessness of the "mob."

12. Role play the trial of Captain Preston and the eight soldiers. Was the punishment of the two soldiers "cruel and unusual"?

13. Change the outcome of the trial to reflect a guilty verdict. Would this have changed the outcome of history?

14. Draw a map of colonial America pinpointing the cities where the important events of this period took place: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston.

RELATED MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION

· Evaluation of Eyewitness Reports.

Present accounts here included are John Tudor's account, the Paul Revere engraving, and Thomas Gage's account.

Have students compare the Revere print with Preston's testimony. How many discrepancies can they find? Is it possible to determine which account is more accurate?

Factors to be considered in evaluating these reports are the degree of self-interest of the observers and the extent of involvement of each reporter. Were any of them trained observers or reporters?

What sort of training could make one more proficient at providing an accurate eyewitness account?

Have students write a report of any dramatic incident which they have witnessed. Submit these reports for analysis by the class.

A final question: "To what extent is it possible to ascertain exactly what happened in a crisis situation involving mob action?"

· The Nature and Uses of Propaganda.

Questions to be raised:

a. What is propaganda? How did the events of March 5, 1770 lend themselves to different interpretations?

b. How does the label or symbol associated with anything affect the reaction to it?

c. Can the propaganda value of an event grow with time? Why?

Have students go to the newspaper and select some information that is obviously propaganda. (By one definition propaganda is "the dissemination of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person.") Who is spreading the propaganda and why? After this assignment (which can be repeated several times), have students look for more subtle examples of propaganda. For example, when information is disseminated by a group we belong to, whether it be a country, a social organization, or a religion, we often tend to reject the notion that it is propaganda. Have students look for propaganda initiated by one of their groups.

Have students prepare a piece of propaganda on any matter of current interest. It can be written, photographic, a collage, etc.

Have students attempt to determine what are the elements of propaganda that make it effective.

· Relationship between Occupying Armies and the People of Occupied Territories.

Have students imagine themselves as members of an occupying army. What would their feelings be? (Note to the teacher: This would be a good spot for a role play or a skit.)

Can we draw analogies between British soldiers in Boston and the following:

1. U.S. in the Philippines circa 1900
2. Germans in France during WW II
3. U.S. in Vietnam
4. British in Northern Ireland
5. Spanish in Cuba
6. U.S. in Japan after WW II

Evaluate such analogies. To what extent are they valid? If they are invalid, why? What other global situations in today's world might be discussed in this context?

Is it possible to avoid violent confrontation under such conditions? How? This would be an excellent opportunity to introduce the concept of "saving face." In order to avoid confrontation, how can one allow the opponent to "save face" without oneself "losing face"?

Are there any situations in the students' experiences – in their own society – where they view others as being an occupying force?

· Right to a Fair Trial.

John Adams saw the Massacre and the subsequent trial as a means of establishing the sanctity of the law through a fair trial for the British soldiers.

Sam Adams saw it as an incident which could be used as effective anti-British propaganda.

Have students react to these viewpoints by defending one position or the other.

Was it possible for the British to get a fair trial as a result of the Boston Massacre? How can the press influence the course of a trial?

Appoint committees to report on the following trials:

1. Angela Davis
2. William Calley
3. Daniel Ellsberg

Have members of the class role play the above trials. Compare and contrast Captain Preston's trial with any of the above. Are they analogous?

· Then and Now.

Have the students expand the Social Background section of this guide by using their own knowledge. For example, encourage them to list some of the things not available in 1770. Without electricity there was no television or radio. What further information can the students deduce from this?

The question can also be put, "What things, goods, and services, are available today that were not available in 1770? Are we inevitably better off today because of the goods and services we have? Is it possible that, in some respects, we are worse off?"

Finally, have the students reconstruct the present year in the manner which this guide attempts to reconstruct 1770.

In effect, have the students attempt to write a contemporary history of their society.

· Cause and Effect.

Students who study history should be aware of the nature of cause and effect. History is a study of cause and effect and, at a more complex level, multiple causes and multiple effects.

Have students divide a sheet of paper into two columns. Label one column "cause"; label the other column "effect." List some causes of the "Massacre." List some effects.

Next, have the students do the same dealing with current material closer to them. Perhaps it could be something that happened in the community or in the school. It must be something of a personal nature that happened to the student. If the students deal with something which is a shared experience, an accident in school or in the community, for example, they could interview others who were aware of what happened in an attempt to find the truth. The students engaged in such a project are, of course, functioning as historians.

Pose the question: "Is the truth relatively easy to find or is it like 'trying to spear a goldfish with a harpoon?' "

A final question: "Is it easier to evaluate what is happening when one is close to a situation or when one can look back when 'more of the evidence is in?' "

The Boston Massacre

An Eye-Witness of the Boston Massacre (1770)

BY JOHN TUDOR

Tudor was a Boston merchant who was an eye-witness of the stirring events in that city from 1732 to 1793. The soldiers who fired on this occasion were indicted for murder, defended by John Adams, and acquitted.—Bibliography: Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 85–88, and *Memorial History of Boston*, III, 31–40; Channing and Hart, *Guide*, § 135.

ON Monday Evening the 5th current, a few Minutes after 9 O'Clock a most horrid murder was committed in King Street before the Customhouse Door by 8 or 9 Soldiers under the Command of Capt Thos Preston drawn of from the Main Guard on the South side of the Townhouse.

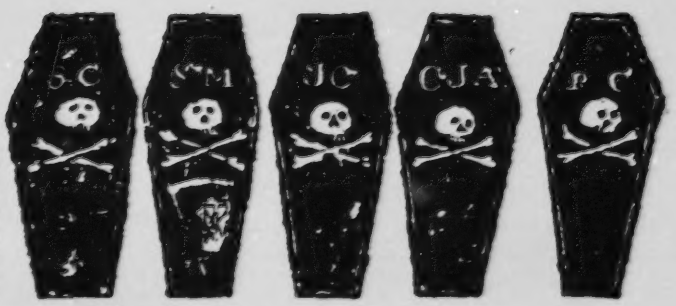
This unhappy affair began by Some Boys & young fellows throwing Snow Balls at the sentry placed at the Customhouse Door. On which 8 or 9 Solders Came to his assistance. Soon after a Number of people colected, when the Capt commanded the Soldiers to fire, which they did and 3 Men were Kil'd on the Spot & several Mortaly Wounded, one of which died next morning. The Capt soon drew off his Soldiers up to the Main Guard, or the Consequencis mite have been terable, for on the Guns fiering the people were alarm'd & set the Bells a Ringing as if for Fire, which drew Multitudes to the place of action. Levt Governor Hutchinson, who was commander in Chefe, was sent for & Came to the Council Chamber, w[h]ere som of the Magistrates attended. The Governor desired the Multitude about 10 O'Clock to sepperat & go home peaceable & he would do all in his power that Justice shold be don &c. The 29 Rigiment being then under Arms on the south side of the Townhouse, but the people insisted that the Soldiers should be ordered to their Barracks 1st before they would sepperat, Which being don the people sepperated aboute 1 O'Clock.—Capt Preston was taken up by a warrent given to the high Sherif by Justice Dania & Tudor and came under Examination about 2 O'clock & we sent him to Goal soon after 3, having Evidence sufficient, to committ him, on his ordering the soldiers to fire : So aboute 4 O'clock the Town became quiet. The next forenoon the 8 Soldiers that fired on the inhabitants was allso sent to Goal. Tuesday A.M. the inhabitants mett at Faneuil Hall & after som pertinant speches, chose a Committee of 15 Gentlemn to waite on the Levt. Governor in Council to request the immediate removeal of the Troops. The message was in these Words. That it is the unanimous

opinion of this Meeting, that the inhabitants & soldiery can no longer live together in safety ; that nothing can Ratonaly be expected to restore the peace of the Town & prevent Blood & Carnage, but the removal of the Troops : and that we most fervently pray his Honor that his power & influance may be exerted for their instant removal. His Honor's Reply was. Gentlmen I am extreemly sorry for the unhappy difference & especially of the last Evening & Signifieng that it was not in his power to remove the Troops &c &c.

The Above Reply was not satisfactory to the Inhabitants, as but one Rigiment should be removed to the Castle Barracks. In the afternoon the Town Adjourned to Dr Sewill's Meetinghouse, for Fanieul Hall was not larg enough to hold the people, their being at least 3,000, som supos'd near 4,000, when they chose a Committee to waite on the Lev^{t}. Governor to let him & the Council Know that nothing less will satisfy the people, then a total & immediate removal of the Troops oute of the Town.—His Honor laid before the Council the Vote of the Town. The Council thereon expressed themselves to be unanimously of opinion that it was absolutely Necessary for his Majesty service, the good order of the Town &c that the Troops Should be immeditly removed oute of the Town.—His Honor communicated this advice of the Council to Col Dalrymple & desir'd he would order the Troops down to Castle William. After the Col. had seen the Vote of the Council He gave his Word & honor to the Town's Committee that both the Rigiments should be remov'd without delay. The Com^{te} return'd to the Town Meeting & Mr Hancock, chairman of the Com^{te} Read their Report as above, which was Received with a shoute & clap of hands, which made the Meeting-house Ring : So the Meeting was dessolved and a great number of Gentlemen appear'd to Watch the Center of the Town & the prison, which continued for 11 Nights and all was quiet again, as the Soldiers was all moved of to the Castle.

(Thursday) Agreeable to a general request of the Inhabitants, were follow'd to the Grave (for they were all Buried in one) in succession the 4 Bodies of Mess^{s} Sam^{l} Gray Sam^{l} Maverick James Caldwell & Crispus Attucks, the unhappy Victims who fell in the Bloody Massacre. On this sorrowfull Occasion most of the shops & stores in Town were shut, all the Bells were order'd to toll a solom peal in Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge & Roxbery. The several Hearses forming a junction in King Street, the Theatre of that inhuman Tragedy, proceeded from thence thro' the main street, lengthened by an immence Concourse of people, So numerous as to be obliged to follow in Ranks of 4 & 6 abreast and brought up by a long Train of Carriages. The sorrow Visible in the Countenances, together with the peculiar solemnity, Surpass description, it was suppos'd that the Spectators & those that follow'd the corps amounted to 15,000, som supposed 20,000. Note Capt Preston was tried for his Life on the affare of the above Octob^{r} 24 1770. The Trial lasted 5 Days, but the Jury brought him in not Guilty.

Paul Revere, Metropolitan Museum of Art



1770

THOMAS GAGE: Rioting in Boston

Thomas Gage, commander in chief of the British Army in America, had been sent to Boston in 1768 to quell any disturbances that might arise from the presence of British troops. Antagonism between the populace and the troops came to a head in the spring of 1770. On March 5, a mob attacked a group of soldiers. In the ensuing confusion the soldiers opened fire, leaving several Bostonians dead. The event, termed the Boston Massacre, was quickly seized upon as a source of anti-British propaganda and came to symbolize, in the years that followed, the clash between Britain and America over colonial rights. In a letter of April 10, 1770, to the Earl of Hillsborough, one of the King's principal secretaries of state, General Gage described the riots in Boston.

Source: Carter, I.

Your Lordship will have received by the way of Boston much earlier intelligence than it has been in my power to transmit, of an unhappy quarrel between the people of that town and the soldiers, in which several of the former were killed and wounded. But I take the first opportunity to send Your Lordship the best account I have been able to procure of this unfortunate accident, as well as to represent the critical situation of the troops, and the hatred of the people towards them.

The occasion which brought the regiments to Boston rendered them obnoxious to the people, and they may have increased the odium themselves, as the disorders of that place have mostly sprung from disputes with Great Britain. The officers and soldiers are Britons, and the people found no advocates amongst them. It was natural for them, without examining into the merits of a political dispute, to take the part of their country; which probably they have often done with more zeal than discretion, considering the circumstances of the place they were in; for in matters of dispute with the mother country, or relative thereto, government is at end in Boston, and in the hands of the people, who have only to assemble to execute any designs. No person dares to oppose them, or call them to account; the whole authority of government, the governor excepted, and magistracy supporting them. The people, prejudiced against the troops, laid every snare to entrap and dis-

tress them, and frequent complaints have been made that the soldiers were daily insulted, and the people encouraged to insult them even by magistrates; that no satisfaction could be obtained, but the soldier, if found in fault, punished with the rigor of the law. Such proceedings could not fail to irritate, but the troops were restrained by their discipline; and though accidental quarrels happened, matters were prevented going to extremities.

In my letter to Your Lordship . . . I mentioned a misunderstanding between the inhabitants and soldiers in this town, soon after which advice was transmitted from Boston that the people there had quarreled with the troops, and lay in wait for them in the streets to knock them down; insomuch that it was unsafe for officers or soldiers to appear in the streets after dark. A particular quarrel happened at a rope walk with a few soldiers of the 29th Regiment; the provocation was given by the ropemakers, though it may be imagined in the course of it that there were faults on both sides. This quarrel, it is supposed, excited the people to concert a general rising on the night of March 5. They began by falling upon a few soldiers in a lane, contiguous to a barrack of the 29th Regiment, which brought some officers of the said regiment out of their quarters; who found some of their men greatly hurt, but carried all the soldiers to their barrack. The mob followed, menacing and brandishing their clubs over the officers' heads, to the barrack door, the officers endeavoring to pacify them, and desiring them to retire. Part of the mob broke into a meetinghouse and rang the fire bell, which appears to have been the alarm concerted; for numerous bodies immediately assembled in the streets, armed, some with muskets, but most with clubs, bludgeons, and such-like weapons.

Many people came out of their houses supposing a fire in the town, and several officers on the same supposition were repairing to their posts; but meeting with mobs were reviled, attacked, and those who could not escape, knocked down, and treated with great inhumanity. Different mobs paraded through the streets, passing the several barracks, and provoking the soldiers to come out. One body went to the main guard, where every provocation was given, without effect, for the guard remained quiet. From thence the mob proceeded to a sentinel posted upon the customhouse, at a small distance from the guard, and attacked him. He defended himself as well as he could, calling out for help; and people ran to the guard to give information of his danger. Captain Preston of the 29th Regiment, being Captain of the Day, his duty upon the alarm carried him to the main guard, and hearing the sentinel was in danger of being murdered, he detached a sergeant and twelve men to relieve him, and soon after followed himself, to prevent any rash act on the part of the troops. This party as well as the sentinel was immediately attacked, some throwing bricks, stones, pieces of ice and snowballs at them, whilst others advanced up to their bayonets, and endeavored to close with them, to use their bludgeons and clubs; calling out to them to fire if they dared, and provoking them to it by the most opprobrious language.

Captain Preston stood between the soldiers and the mob, parleying with the latter, and using every conciliating method to persuade them to retire peaceably. Some amongst them asked him if he intended to order the men to fire, he replied by no means, and observed he stood between the troops and them. All he could say had no effect, and one of the soldiers, receiving a violent blow, instantly fired. Captain Preston turned round to see who fired, and received a blow upon his arm, which was aimed at his head; and the mob, at first seeing no execution done, and imagining the soldiers had only fired powder to frighten, grew more bold and attacked with greater

violence, continually striking at the soldiers and pelting them, and calling out to them to fire. The soldiers at length perceiving their lives in danger, and hearing the word fire all round them, three or four of them fired one after another, and again three more in the same hurry and confusion. Four or five persons were unfortunately killed, and more wounded. Captain Preston and the party were soon afterward delivered into the hands of the magistrates, who committed them to prison.

The misunderstanding between the people and the troops in this place was contrived by one party, not only to wound their adversaries who had voted to supply the troops according to act of Parliament through the sides of the soldiers, by making them and their measures odious to the people, but also to have a pretence to desire the removal of the troops; which I am assured was mentioned, if not moved at the time, in the Council. This plan of getting the troops removed by quarreling with them was soon transmitted to Boston; where they immediately put it in execution, by endeavors to bring on a general quarrel between them and the townspeople. We fortunately found not only magistrates but many people of consequence in this place, who discovered the designs of the adverse party, and exerted themselves in keeping the people quiet and, preventing mischief; without whose assistance I am confident something very disagreeable must have happened here, notwithstanding the uncommon pains taken with the soldiers. And had the magistrates and those who have influence over the populace in Boston taken as much trouble to appease and restrain as they have on too many occasions to inflame and excite the people to tumults and mischief, I am as confident that no blood would have been shed in that place. But it appears, unfortunately, that their schemes were not to be brought about through peace and tranquility, but by promoting disorders.

Some have sworn that Captain Preston gave orders to fire; others who were near, that the soldiers fired without orders from the provocation they received. None can deny the attack made upon the troops, but differ in the degree of violence in the attack.

I hope and believe that I have given Your Lordship in general a true relation of this unhappy affair; and sorry I am to say, there is too much reason to apprehend neither Captain Preston nor the soldiers, can have a fair and impartial trial for their lives. The utmost malice and malevolence has been shown already, in endeavors to bring on the trials whilst the people are heated by resentment, and the thirst of revenge. And attempts have been made to overawe the judges. The inveteracy of the people against the commissioners has also appeared in this affair, for there is information that the Grand Jury took pains to bring them in as conspiring with the army to massacre, as they term it, the inhabitants. And an officer of the Customs belonging to Gaspee with a gentleman of his acquaintance, and two servants of the Board have been committed to prison; where they have lain some days as accessories for firing out of the customhouses, upon the evidence of a French serving boy of fourteen years of age, notwithstanding the officer, by name Manwaring, was apprehanded by a warrant from a popular justice, and dismissed upon the detection of the villainy of the boy.

Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, and Lieutenant Colonel Dalrymple, having acquainted His Majesty's ministers with the reasons for removing the troops from Boston to the island of Castle-Williams, it is needless for me to trouble Your Lordship with a repetition of them. His Majesty alone can judge whether the lieutenant colonel, who acted contrary to his own opinion, should have refused to comply with the desires of every part of the civil government in that respect, as well as of most of the officers of the Crown, in order to avoid

greater evils than they should suffer from the absence of the troops.

Conceiving the troops to be of no use at the island, I proposed to the lieutenant governor to remove them out of the province, and one of them immediately. The last measure I shall be obliged to take shortly, or run the risk of some contagious disorders getting amongst the men from their being so much crowded in small rooms. Not finding the proposal agreeable, I have consented to let both regiments remain till the arrival of the February mail from England; though I can't perceive any service is hoped for from them, unless it is to serve in the last extremity as an asylum, to which the officers of the Crown might fly for the security of their persons. But if there are any reasons to apprehend dangers of the kind, I am ignorant of them. It has indeed been proved that they were of no other use in the town of Boston, for the people were as lawless and licentious after the troops arrived as they were before. The troops could not act by military authority, and no person in civil authority would ask their aid. They were there contrary to the wishes of the Council, Assembly, magistrates and people, and seemed only offered to abuse and ruin, and the soldiers were either to suffer ill usage, and even assaults upon their persons till their lives were in danger, or by resisting and defending themselves, to run almost a certainty of suffering by the law.

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THE BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

Monograph 2: The Vesey Revolt

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The United States in 1822 was a nation in transition, growing and changing rapidly. An old generation of leadership was passing from the scene; a new generation was growing to adulthood. Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the second and third Presidents of the country, were old men. Within four years both would be dead. Abraham Lincoln was a thirteen-year-old boy living in Indiana in a hastily built cabin with an open side. Ulysses Grant, who was to lead the Union armies to victory in the war that freed the slaves, was born in 1822.

The President of the United States was James Monroe, himself symbolic of the changing times. He was the last President to have been an officer in the Revolution, the last to wear a powdered wig and a three-cornered hat.

By 1822 there were twenty-four states in the United States. As a result of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, both Missouri and Maine became states. The balance between free and slave states remained equal at twelve each.

In most states, property qualifications prevented many men from voting. Neither women of any race nor black men were voting in 1822. Within ten years most white men were voting, but black men and all women were still denied this privilege.

There were more than ten million Americans in 1822. Most of them were white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Eighteen percent were Black Americans, most of them slaves in the South. There were, of course, free Blacks in both the South and the North, and the northern city with the greatest number of free Blacks was Philadelphia. It had a population of 112,000, and of that number 22,000 were black. Philadelphia was no longer the largest city in America – New York now held that distinction – but things were changing in this city as well.

In 1816 a motion was offered in the City Council to replace existing oil lamps with gaslights. The same year a foot bridge was built across the Schuylkill River; a person paid one penny to cross it.

In 1818 the first public school was opened in Philadelphia. It was for poor, white children. As Sam Bass Warner in THE PRIVATE CITY has pointed out, education was to be provided for boys from six to fourteen and for girls from five to thirteen. In the following year, ten schools were opened and by 1822 Philadelphia had elementary schools, a normal school (for teacher training), a university (Pennsylvania), and a College of Pharmacy. In the same year the first school for black children was opened in the city.

The city could not have been dull. In 1816 the Mayor issued a proclamation which stated that "the flying of kites, the rolling of hoops, the ringing of bells by vendors" were "nuisances." The following year the Philadelphia Assembly "prohibited horse racing on any of the public roads of Philadelphia... under penalty of fifty dollars [fine] and the forfeiture of horses engaged in it."

In 1819, the year after the first public school opened in Philadelphia, an anti-slavery meeting was held in this city which resolved, "The slavery of the human species being... one of the greatest evils which exist in the United States... it unavoidably follows that personal bondage... must be deprecated and should be prevented by... the legislature of Congress."

Slavery was certainly the most irritating and pressing problem which faced the nation. It was an institution implicitly allowed by the Constitution in the Three-fifths Compromise. An institution that was to come under increasing attack by Northern abolitionists, it was defended at the same time by Southerners not only as "a necessary evil," a "peculiar institution," but in the words of John Calhoun, "a positive good." The invention of the cotton "gin" (cotton engine) made cotton growing profitable, and most Southerners at the time saw slavery as a necessary corollary to a plantation economy.

The plantation system dominated the social and economic life of the South, but only a small portion of the white population actually owned slaves. Statistics available for 1850 indicate that only 347,525 Whites, out of a population of more than six million in slave-holding areas, actually owned slaves.

Those Whites who did not own slaves have been categorized into four groups: landowning farmers, highlanders, clay eaters, and factory laborers. The last three groups were relatively small, while the farmers made up the largest part of the white population. Common to the people in all of these groups were the Protestant religion, Western European traditions, and the English language, law, and governmental structure.

Generally uneducated, devoutly religious, and fiercely independent, these "plain folk of the Old South" exhibited deep loyalties and an ingrained conservatism. Professor Frank L. Owsley in his text PLAIN FOLK OF THE OLD SOUTH has described the life of the average Southern yeoman as centered "around" a small farm, ranging from a fifty-acre to a five-hundred-acre tract, tilled by the owner, undriven by competition, supplied with corn by his own toil and with meat from his own pen or from the fields or forests. The amusements might be... the three-day break-down dances which David Crockett loved, or horse races, footraces, cook and dog fights, boxing, wrestling, shooting, fighting, logrolling, house-raising, or corn shucking. It might be crude or genteel, but everywhere it was fundamentally alike and natural. The houses were homes, where families lived sufficient and complete within themselves, working together and fighting together. And when death came, they were buried in their own lonely, peaceful graveyards, to await domesday together."

At the bottom of the social structure were the clay eaters. These poor Whites settled in infertile back country where they lived a hand-to-mouth existence. They were despised by Blacks and tolerated by other Whites. Paul Buck's description of their log cabins: "a few rickety chairs, a long bench, a dirty bed or two, a spinning wheel,... a skillet, an oven, a frying pan, a triangular cupboard in one corner, and a rack... (for) the family rifle," might serve as an inventory of the contents of the cabin's single room. Food could be procured with a minimum of effort. "Wild hogs, deer, wild turkeys, squirrels, raccoons, opossums - these and many more at (the) very doors (of the poor whites); and they have only to pick 'old silver heels' (the rifle), walk a few miles out into the forest, and return home laden with enough meat to last them a week. The yield of their rifles and fishing rods might be supplemented by corn and potatoes from their struggling gardens. Altogether it was a life without much effort and it produced a class of lazy, idle men who gained a universal reputation for shiftlessness." Most of these poor Whites had little contact with well-to-do Southerners and lived a life of indifference.

A similar group, called the Highlanders, lived in the remote mountain regions of the South. They have been described as fond of hunting and outdoor life, inured to hardship, strangers to the bathtub, quick on the trigger; they were nevertheless

generous and hospitable. They tended to remain in these surroundings and adapted to them while being isolated from the remainder of the population.

Although fewest in number as far as the total population in the South was concerned, the majority of slaveowners were "planters." According to the Bureau of Census, a "southern planter" was a person who owned twenty or more slaves. In 1860 there were fewer than 50,000 out of a total population of almost 5,000,000 in the Old South.

Plantations in the South started in the early period of colonization after the founding of the Virginia colony at Jamestown in 1607. With the development of the one-crop system of farming, the plantation idea spread. First, tobacco was the principal product grown, and then rice and indigo plantations developed in the Carolinas and Georgia. The planters were the aristocrats who had become wealthy as a result of land grants and hereditary acquisitions from colonizing ancestors. Some had come to America as indentured servants, and after the Revolution had established themselves as leaders of their communities particularly in the land west of the Appalachian Mountains and along the Gulf Coast. Cotton as a product for growth and profit was introduced after the Revolution, and many small farmers managed to become planters. Because of his wealth, the plantation owner developed power in all aspects of Southern life–in politics, economic activity, and social status. Through his power, he controlled the destinies of his family, his slaves, and the lower-class free Whites who worked for him.

The plantation home was the hub of Southern life during the early 19th century. It was an imposing mansion built not far from a river but set back from the road. Shaded by tall trees and surrounded by formal gardens, the house usually had wide verandas and white Grecian-style pillars supporting the roof. The mansion often had twelve to fifteen luxuriously furnished rooms for family and guests. Furnishings were often imported from Europe according to the preferred styles of the era.

The other areas of the plantation seemed to resemble the old feudal manor. There were small buildings for blacksmithing, carpentry, weaving, and other activities. Housing for the animals, such as stables and barns, was usually on one side of the plantation house, while at the far end near the fields, were the slave quarters (usually thatch-roofed huts). Spreading outward in a circular pattern from the mansion were the crop fields, pasture lands for animals, and a wooded area near the river.

The duties of the planter were many. He supervised the entire plantation, kept records of his business transactions, and dealt with the agents who sold his cotton for a commission. From a schedule provided for him by the planter, the overseer assigned the slaves to their daily tasks such as picking cotton, hoeing corn, or cutting wood. If a dispute arose, whether between family members, guests, overseers, and slaves, or among the slaves themselves, the planter was expected to settle the difficulty as everyone on the plantation was considered a "member of the family."

Private tutors were hired to teach only the planter's children. Older boys were sent North or to Europe to complete their education.

The form of local government in the South developed from the early days of the Virginia colony. The county was the most important unit. The justices of the peace, many of them slave-owning planters, were the most important officials. They had broad powers such as the levying of taxes, providing for needed local construction such as roads and bridges, and appointing sheriffs to enforce the law. They met

once a month for court trials, and informally nominated candidates to state legislatures and to the United States Congress. Many plantations were selected as sites for local trials.

Using justifications developed by such men as Thomas Dew, a professor at William and Mary College; George Fitzhugh, a noted Virginian; and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, planters defended the institution of slavery as an economic necessity because it was the only way they could get an adequate labor supply. They also argued that they took complete care of their slaves from birth to death, and therefore gave their workers much more security than the free Northern factory workers who had no benefits and whose employers could cast them off at will.

The plantation owner viewed himself as a feudal lord and father caring for his "children" both black and white. The plantation was a society within itself, resistant to change, struggling to maintain the status quo.

In spite of what arguments might be given in defense of slavery, in order to keep the status quo, the slaves who worked the plantation fields labored under harsh, often brutal conditions where they would feel the driver's lash if they did not perform adequately. Although many texts refer to the "usual slave quarters" or the "usual diet," it is impossible to generalize about the conditions under which slaves lived. Some lived and ate better than others depending on the nature of the master. Probably the most brutal aspect of slavery was precisely that fact: the quality of a slave's life was wholly dependent on the nature or whim of another man.

Every Southern state enacted Black Codes. These saw to it that slaves had no legal standing in the courts (later upheld by the Dred Scott decision), could not make a contract, and could not testify against a white man in court. Although there were laws against teaching slaves to read or write, they were often disregarded, and many slaves learned to read from other slaves or the children of the owner.

Slaves were not only field slaves. They often functioned as house slaves, a position in which they would assist the planter's wife in cooking, cleaning, and raising the children. Slaves were also carpenters and blacksmiths. Jefferson Davis used a slave on his plantation as his accountant.

Although the South was basically rural and agrarian, industrialization sprang up in the few urban areas that existed. Between 1840 and 1860, the value of manufactured goods increased from $34 million to nearly $100 million. Railroad mileage increased from 400 in 1840 to more than 900 by 1861.

The industrial South's biggest problem was in attracting labor to the factories. Low wages did not attract back country Whites and immigrants. Slaves were used on a limited scale, but fear existed that introducing slaves into an industrial society would lead to their freedom. For these reasons, many factories went bankrupt from northern competition, and the South never developed its industrial potential.

Kenneth Stampp in THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION estimates that ten percent of Southern slaves lived in cities. These town slaves were often hired out by their masters for a period of time. They worked in the shipyards or in other occupations such as barbers, cabinet makers, cooks, and gardeners.

Although contemporary Southerners tried to portray slavery as a humane institution in which slaves were happy and contented, the evidence is to the contrary. Herbert

Aptheker in NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS contends that between the Revolution and the Civil War there were at least 150 slave revolts in the South. That, together with the frequency of runaway slaves, shows that slavery was not humane. As Kenneth Stampp has written, "With rare exceptions slaves eagerly accepted offers of emancipation regardless of the conditions imposed upon them. In some cases they were required to leave not merely the state but the country.... All of the one hundred and twenty-three slaves of Isaac Ross of Mississippi elected the option of being transported to Africa to obtain the freedom provided in his will." In THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION, Stampp also quotes an ex-slave who said, "I am now my own [man] and need not work when I am sick. I can do my own thinking without having anyone to think for me...."

Free Blacks became free either because they purchased their freedom, were freed by their owners, or because they ran away and were not caught. They were severely limited in what freedom they had. They could not move about freely in the South. They had to carry passes indicating they were free; otherwise, they could be enslaved easily. Enslaving free Blacks was not limited to the South. In Philadelphia in 1826, five black children were kidnapped to be sold into slavery in Alabama. They were rescued in Mississippi and returned to the city. A local law of that year made the kidnapping of black children a crime.

Although free Blacks were limited in their choice of occupation, there were Blacks, usually in the cities, who were carpenters, tailors, and cabinet makers, as well as lawyers, and ministers. Some were prosperous. James Forten of Philadelphia was a relatively wealthy sailmaker. He was the civic leader of Philadelphia's black community. In 1840, when the only black school in the city was threatened with closing, Forten galvanized the Blacks to pressure the school board to keep it open.

Another prominent Philadelphia Black was Richard Allen. He was the dominant force in organizing the African Methodist Episcopal Church. When sixteen congregations which had been segregated in white churches merged, they were led by Bishop Allen of Mother Bethel Church.

Some members of Mother Bethel's congregation were suspected of complicity in the Vesey revolt; thus, the spread of African Methodism in the South was hindered after 1822.

EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY TO 1822

1. 1619 - African slavery and slave trade into Virginia by the Dutch. The Africans had original status as "indentured servants."

2. 1640 - The "John Punch Case" in Virginia led to the practice of making Blacks "perpetual servants" or Total Slaves. The Punch Case was the first-noted attempt of a Black to escape.

3. 1662 - Law passed in Virginia that first recognized slavery as an official practice.

4. 1667 - Passage of a Virginia law stating that "conversion to Christianity does not free a slave automatically."

5. 1688 - First antislavery protests by the Quakers in Pennsylvania.

6. 1669 to 1740 - The Southern Colonies enacted various slave codes restricting "Negroes" from mingling or associating with Whites at an "equal" level.

7. 1701 - Judge Samuel Sewall's book, THE SELLING OF JOSEPH, was the first direct attack on slavery in New England.

8. By 1705 most of the other colonies adopted Virginia's position on slavery and conversion to Christianity.

9. After 1700, because of sharp slave codes passed in the colonies, slave revolts began.
   a. In 1712 New York City was the scene of a slave uprising.
   b. In 1740, after they attempted to seize weapons, a slave rebellion was crushed at Stono, South Carolina.

10. 1770 - Anthony Benezet developed the first school for slaves in Philadelphia.

11. 1775 - The Second Continental Congress attempted to end importation of slaves from Africa. Colonial resistance developed against the slave trade.

12. 1776 - Thomas Jefferson failed to have slavery ended or slave trade abolished as part of the Declaration of Independence

13. Numerous Blacks served in the American Revolution and were freed.
   a. Salem Poor fought at Bunker Hill.
   b. James Lafayette was a spy for the colonies in 1778 and 1779.

14. The Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 prohibited slavery in the new western territories.

15. Constitutional Convention of 1787 agreed to end slave trade by 1808, set up first Fugitive Slave Law, and agreed to the Three-fifths Compromise for representation in the House of Representatives.

16. 1792 - Invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney.

17. From 1793 to 1800, Benjamin Banneker helped to build the nation's capital at Washington, D. C.

18. 1800 - A major slave rebellion was led by Gabriel Prosser. An unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy Richmond, Virginia.

19. 1804 - Haiti declared its independence from France.

20. 1815 - Andrew Jackson offered slaves their freedom in order to have them fight at the Battle of New Orleans.

21. "Balance of States" theory developed for slave and free territory in the United States after 1815.

22. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was the first official "slave border" settlement between North and South as to the future of new territories.

THE VESEY REVOLT

Peter Prioleau was relaxing away a Saturday afternoon on a Charleston wharf near that town's fish market when another black man approached him and began a casual conversation about an odd flag that flew on a ship anchored in the harbor. Then, idle conversation suddenly turned to serious, deadly business when William Paul urged Peter to join him and thousands of other Blacks in a fast approaching slave revolt. On that sunny day in May, William had invited the wrong slave to join the long-planned, but still secret, revolt. His hasty invitation started the chain of events that would lead to his own death and the destruction of a slave revolt that might have worked.

That same night the frightened Peter Prioleau told his master's family about the proposed revolt, and soon, for the first time, the officials of Charleston were alerted to the conspiracy that had been brewing since the previous Christmas.

In 1822, Denmark Vesey, acknowledged leader of the insurrection that failed, was not at that moment a slave, but he had known the curse of not being free. His last name he took from Captain Vesey, a merchant who had made his fortune buying and selling other men, but for whom Denmark nevertheless worked for many years before he was able to buy his freedom in 1800 with $600 from a prize of $1500 he had won in a lottery. Vesey's first name was given him when he traveled the seven seas with his master. Then, as if he were the son of the wandering Ulysses, he was called "Telemaque." Gradually, this poetic first name was corrupted by common usage to "Denmark."

At the time of the revolt, Denmark Vesey was a black freeman well into his fifties. He was known by many in Charleston and respected by most for his skill as a carpenter and the knowledge he had gained by his own experiences and constant study. A devoted student of the Bible, history, and current events, Vesey was well aware of the struggles of different peoples in the past to break out of bondage and of the great debates over slavery that had taken place in the Congress of the United States. A man of superior strength in spirit as well as in body, although himself long free, Vesey wanted no person to be a slave.

According to Vesey's original plan, on July 14, a time when many Whites would have fled the sweltering Charleston region for cooler climates, the plantation slaves would march on the city, and in union with the free and slave Blacks of the town kill every white person, sparing no one because of either age or youth. At first armed with hatchets, hoes, pikes, knives, and a few stolen swords and guns, the rebels expected, with the master advantage of surprise on their side, to get all the arms they needed by capturing more weapons at the arsenals and shops in the city. Easily available large canoes, normally used to transport country goods to the port city, would be used by the plantation slaves to travel to the town that they expected soon to be theirs. To gallop through the streets to stop the Whites from gathering their forces and to increase the panic and fear, Vesey had even provided for a unit of black cavalry from men who normally worked away their days by delivering goods in wagons or caring for horses in stables. After conquering the city, it is not quite certain what Vesey had planned. There is a good chance that after gathering the wealth of the city, he hoped to sail for Haiti, the black republic of the Caribbean, or perhaps even for Africa. He did try during the planning stages of the revolt to communicate with the government of Haiti.

One of Vesey's captains in the plan was the knowledgeable, hard-working, harness-maker, Monday Gill, who, when questioned about his part in the plan, eventually confessed and named every person he knew involved in the proposed rebellion. In return for his evidence, Gill was pardoned from a death sentence. The court willingly gave Gill his life not only to repay him for his help, but also because they wanted to prove to all slaves who might in the future think of revolt that no ringleader, not even a man of Gill's firm will, could be trusted not to reveal all if he were caught and faced with death.

But another of Vesey's captains, Gullah Jack, self-proclaimed conjurer, who told his recruits he could not be killed and would make them as invulnerable to harm as himself, never did confess. After Vesey's capture, he actually tried to keep the insurrection going even if it meant storming the jail and rescuing his leader. Unless his magic was truly great, Gullah Jack never could have succeeded against the now vigilant government. As happened, he could expect only to be arrested himself and then tried and sentenced to death by a court that held all its meetings in secret, in which there was no trial by jury, and where the accused could not even confront the witnesses against him because the informers said they feared for their lives if their identities were known.

This court found sixty-seven Blacks guilty of conspiracy, and of these, thirty-five were executed by hanging. Most of them want to their death following the advice of Peter Poyas who said, "Do not open your lips! Die silent as you shall see me do."

If some other advice of this same man had been heeded, perhaps the plan would have been successful because it was Peter Poyas who warned all his trusted friends not to confide in "those waiting men who receive presents of old coats, etc, from their masters or they'll betray us."

The only immediate result of the Vesey Revolt was not freedom, but a further tightening of the chains of slavery. A previously passed law that prohibited free Blacks from entering South Carolina or allowing those who lived there to return if once they left the state was now strictly enforced. Many new laws were passed to further restrict and degrade the black person. Among these acts was the Negro-Seaman's Act that provided a ship's captain would be fined one thousand dollars if he allowed a free "Negro" to remain in Charleston. All adult free Blacks now had to have a written guarantee from a White that they would live a good and decent life. If the free Black did not live up to the recommendations of his guardian, he would be sold into slavery, and the purchase money shared by the state and the informer. Also, slaves were prohibited from gathering in large groups, and it became a criminal offense to teach a black man to read and write.

Fear made the Whites of South Carolina pass these restrictive laws. As slavery imprisoned the Blacks, fear imprisoned the Whites. Horror at the possibility of a slave revolt was particularly fierce in the Charleston area where the Afro-Americans outnumbered the Whites at about a ratio of four to one. So pervasive was the terror of a black rebellion that the noted historian Richard Wade has argued that the Vesey Revolt did not in fact exist, but rather the Charleston Whites, because of their massive anxiety over just such a possibility, overreacted to rumors and, as a frightened child will make monsters from noises he hears in an empty house, created danger where none existed.

But Wade and his followers are in the minority, and most scholars believe that Vesey died for the reality of freedom and not the illusions of fear when on July 2, 1822,

two days before the forty-sixth anniversary of the Declaration of independence, the free black man was hanged. When passing sentence, the court complained that being free and comparatively wealthy, Vesey, of all Blacks, should be most grateful to the society that allowed him such privileges and therefore should not try to make other members of his race free.

The Charleston court could not understand, but Denmark Vesey, Peter Poyas, Gullah Jack, and their comrades who died in silence were not forgotten because other Abolitionists understood and continued their fight.

EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY AFTER 1822

1. 1820's - Black Codes were strengthened throughout the South to protect Whites from insubordination by slaves. A manumission movement in the upper South called for the gradual, compensated emancipation of slaves with colonization in Africa.

2. 1829 - Several revolts were reported on Louisiana plantations.

3. 1830's - The South became an armed camp where Whites feared uprisings by slaves.

4. 1831 - The first issue of William Lloyd Garrison's "Liberator" appeared on January 1. This newspaper became the most articulate vehicle of militant abolitionism. The New England Anti-slavery Society was founded by Garrison. The Georgia Legislature offered $4000 for the arrest of Garrison.

   The Underground Railroad was organized to assist runaway slaves to freedom in the North and Canada.

   The first national convention of Blacks met in Philadelphia.

5. 1833 - Slavery ended in the British West Indies.

   The American Anti-slavery Society was formed in Philadelphia by Arthur Tappan. Whites and Blacks worked together in setting the goals of this organization.

6. August 12, 1834 - A mob of Whites marched into the black section of Philadelphia and committed numerous acts of violence. The African Presbyterian Church was wrecked, homes were burned, and Blacks were beaten up.

7. 1835 - Several slaves of Monroe County, Georgia were hanged or whipped to death because of a revolt.

   Twenty-one white and black rebels were hanged in Mississippi.

   Two Whites were hanged in Louisiana for helping to plan an uprising.

8. 1839 - Whites did considerable damage to the black section of Pittsburgh.

   Theodore Dwight Weld published the abolitionist tract, "Slavery As It Is," describing the abuses of slavery.

9. 1840 - The Liberty Party was formed to fight slavery politically.

10. 1842 - Unemployed Whites broke up a black parade in Philadelphia. Blacks were attacked and the New African Hall and Presbyterian Church were burned.

11. 1844 - James Birney received 60,000 votes as Presidential candidate of the Liberty Party. This poor showing indicated that popular support was lacking on this single issue.

12. 1846 - The Wilmot Proviso was introduced to ban slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico. Not enough support was shown in the Senate to pass the measure.

13. 1847 - Frederick Douglass was elected president of the New England Anti-slavery Society.

14. 1850's - The philosophy of force became an integral part of the abolitionist philosophy.

    Intersectional strife reached a new peak.

    Dissension over policy was evident among abolitionists.

    Pro-slavery leaders showed increased strength.

15. 1850 - The compromise reached in Congress over the slavery issue prevented a split in the Union, but called for a strict fugitive slave act.

    Governor Quitman of Mississippi declared that 100,000 slaves found freedom through the Underground Railroad.

16. March, 1852 - UNCLE TOM'S CABIN was published.

17. 1853 - A serious revolt in New Orleans involving 2500 slaves was aborted when a "free Black" revealed the plan.

    The National Council of Colored People was formed in Rochester, New York.

18. 1854 - The Kansas-Nebraska Act supported the principle of "popular sovereignty" in dealing with the expansion of slavery.

19. 1856 - John C. Fremont, the first Presidential candidate of the Republican Party, opposed the expansion of slavery.

    Groups of runaway slaves in Bladen and Robeson Counties, North Carolina, terrorized the countryside.

20. 1857 - The Dred Scott Case gave pro-slavery leaders support from the Supreme Court. A black convention meeting in Philadelphia denounced the decision.

21. October, 1859 - John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.

22. December, 1859 - John Brown became a martyr for the abolitionist cause when he was hanged.

23. November, 1860 - Lincoln was elected President on a free-soil ticket.

    Pro-slavery leaders called for secession from the union.

24. December 20, 1860 - South Carolina seceded from the Union.

25. 1861 - "Free Negroes" were denied entry into the armed forces. Lincoln proposed compensating owners for their slaves and settling these people in another part of the world. Many slaves began to walk off plantations.

26. January 1, 1863 - The Emancipation Proclamation was issued. 800,000 slaves in the border states were unaffected by this decree.

27. 1865 - The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery.

SUGGESTED STUDENT ACTIVITIES

· Discussion Questions:

1. Why would a free black man in his fifties decide to lead a revolution to free Blacks from slavery?
2. Why did Vesey propose to kill every white person?
3. Why did Monday Gill confess and reveal the plan? Did he invent a greater plan than that planned by Vesey?
4. Why didn't Gullah Jack get a fair trial?
5. What were the immediate results of the Vesey trial?
6. Can fear "imprison" a person?
7. Why was hanging used as a death sentence for Vesey?
8. What might have been the result of Vesey's revolt if Peter Prioleau had not told?

· Projects

1. Draw a map of the United States as it appeared in 1822. Outline the states and indicate slave and free states. Mark the location of Vesey's Revolt.
2. Design posters stating the abolitionist cause.
3. Draw examples of wanted posters for runaway slaves.
4. Draw a chart showing the White and Black populations of the United States in 1820 using the statistics on page 24.
5. Draw pictures of slaves at work.
6. Draw some sketches illustrating the life of the typical Southerner. a) Farmer, b) Clay eater, c) Highlander
7. Develop a time line indicating developments in the history of slavery before and after Vesey's Rebellion.
8. Illustrate events in the life of Denmark Vesey.
9. Build a model of a plantation.
10. Visit Mother Bethel A. M. E. Church to learn about its history.

RELATED MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION

· Various Perceptions of Slavery

Slavery was viewed by various Americans as a beneficent institution, a positive good, necessary for democracy, a scourge, a crime against mankind, inhuman.

Obviously all these estimates cannot be correct. It is probable, however, that those people who viewed slavery as good or bad found enough information to support their bias or point of view. All people view reality with a bias. For example, one's nationality, economic class, religion, race or ethnic background will bear on how one perceives reality.

Have students supply other circumstances which might contribute to a person's bias.

Pose the question to students: "Is total objectivity impossible? If it is possible, how can we rid ourselves of bias? If it is impossible, how can we arrive at the truth?"

Have students select a bias from which to view their school or neighborhood. For example, "My neighborhood is 'happiness' or 'filled with dogs' or 'tree-lined' or 'musical.' " Then have students photograph their neighborhood using this bias. They can submit the photographs on a poster which can be used as classroom "decoration" to reinforce the lesson.

If a student has no camera, an excellent technique would be to have him sketch or describe in writing what he sees or hears as a result of this bias. A tape recorder could also be valuable here.

· Analogies With Other Slave Revolts

A. Compare Vesey's Revolt with other known slave uprisings of the early 19th century.

1. Have the students write an editorial account of Prosser's Revolt in Richmond in September, 1800.

   Were the causes similar to Vesey's Revolt?

   Did the outcomes of the earlier revolt affect Vesey's planning or thinking?

2. Compare Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831 with the revolt.

   How were the beliefs of Vesey and Turner similar; and how did they differ?

   a. Have the students set up a series of mock trials–one for each event to illustrate the differences.

   b. Would the verdicts concerning the defendants be similar or different? Why?

3. How does John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859 relate legally to Vesey's alleged plan to attack Charleston?

   a. Have the pupils research the ideas of whether each was a federal crime or a local incident.

   b. Were the trials of both leaders "fair" according to the local conditions of the times? Why or why not?

· Terrorism and Social Change

1. Organize a panel of students to role play a United Nations' debate on the topic: "Resolved: Terrorism Is Necessary to Bring About Social Change." Appoint one or more students to present the pro side of the debate by representing, for example, each of the following groups: Ku Klux Klan, Palestine Liberation Organization, Symbionese Liberation Army, and the Irish Republican Army, although the debate may include any group using similar methods but having divergent or opposite aims. Select an equal number of students to present arguments opposing the debate topic. The remaining students can serve as judges for the debate.

2. As a follow-up lesson to the debate, compare and contrast Vesey's Revolt in light of the activities of these groups in modern society.

3. Further research on the subject of terrorism can be conducted by investigating activities of the Sons of Liberty and the Molly Maguires.

· Who Most Yearn to Be Free?

In the Vesey Revolt, the leader was a free man, and his lieutenants, including the house servants of the Governor of South Carolina, were among the best-treated slaves, yet it was another house slave, "a waiting man who receives presents," who revealed the plan.

Possible topics for discussion or research:

1. Are rebels likely to be those without any hope of worldly wealth, or those who, having some good things, want even more? What was the background of the leaders of world revolutions and the movements for more freedom here in the United States?

2. How crucial is education for rebel leaders? What kind of knowledge is needed?

3. Is it possible to revolt where there is absolutely no freedom? Is such a condition possible?

4. Does a revolutionary tend to revolt and suffer the consequences of failure for selfish reasons, or must he be concerned with wider goals? Although he was himself free, Vesey's children were still slaves.

Have class evaluate who among their acquaintances are most rebellious against the restraints of parental or school control. Do they have any common characteristics?

· Martyrs in Society

1. Using input from the class, develop a definition for the word "martyr." Then conduct a brainstorming session listing historical and contemporary persons who fit this definition. Discuss Denmark Vesey's place in history and determine if he fits the class's definition of a martyr for the cause of abolitionism.

2. Discuss contemporary causes for which individuals are willing to sacrifice their lives. Compare and contrast martyrs who have brought about legitimate social change with those who have died for a cause, but who were in reality acting out their own fantasies. In CATCHER IN THE RYE, J.D. Salinger wrote, "The mark of the immature man is that he wants to die nobly for a cause while the mark of the mature man is that he wants to live humbly for one."

3. Assign students to write an editorial about Denmark Vesey in Wm. Lloyd Garrison's Liberator on the tenth anniversary of Vesey's death. This editorial should be evaluated to determine if Vesey is viewed as a martyr.

4. As a followup activity, assign students to write editorials for Southern pro-slavery publications that attack the viewpoint of Vesey as a martyr.

· Foreign Interference in Another Nation's Internal Affairs

There is a possibility that Vesey tried to contact Haiti for help and/or refuge for the oppressed Blacks of South Carolina.

Have the students consider whether one nation has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state. Aside from general considerations, among other topics for discussion or research might be: The United States and the Jews in Russia; the Third-world nations and the oppressed majority in the Republic of South Africa; the United States and the growth of Communism in Chile, Cuba, South Vietnam, and other areas; the Russians and their treatment of satellite nations; any nation and the past and present treatment in the United States of any minority group whether racial, ethnic, or religious; the nations who ask for helpful interference.

If a nation may interfere, what military, economic, or psychological weapons might be used?

Is it the obligation of a nation to receive refugees who might be inspired by their example? Consider the general immigration policy and the obligation to provide individual sanctuary.

· Primary Material: Testimony of William, the Slave of Mr. Paul, against Denmark Vesey

"Mingo Harth told me that Denmark Vesey was the chiefest man, and more concerned than any one else--Denmark Vesey is an old man in whose yard my master's negro woman Sarah cooks--he was her father in law, having married her mother Beck, and though they have been parted some time, yet he visited her at her house near the Intendant's, (Major Hamilton) where I have often heard him speak of the

rising--He said he would not like to have a white man in his presence--that he had a great hatred for the whites, and that if all were like him they would resist the whites--he studies all he can to put it into the heads of the blacks to have a rising against the whites, and tried to induce me to join--he tries to induce all his acquaintances--this has been his chief study and delight for a considerable time--my last conversation with him was in April--he studies the Bible a great deal and tries to prove from it that slavery and bondage is against the Bible. I am persuaded that Denmark Vesey was chiefly concerned in business."[1]

Have a student act the part of William. After he has given his testimony, have the class cross-examine him.

How would historian Richard Wade view the evidence of William as to the reality of a conspiracy?

For what reasons might William give damaging, perhaps even false, evidence?

Very little is known about the character and life of Denmark Vesey. Have students create his life through short skits or stories. For instance, what was he like as a boy, and a young man? What did he think of the French Revolution? How did he react when he won the lottery? How did he treat his wives and children or slaves like William? Imagine him talking to a white man or planning with Peter Poyas, Gullah Jack, or Monday Gill.

[1]Quoted in Robert Starobin. DENMARK VESEY (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), p. 31.

Primary Material: Editorials

NEW YORK DAILY ADVERTISER, August 6, 1822

...As yet nothing has appeared that has met our view to justify the great sacrifice of human lives that has taken place.... How many more of these miserable wretches are to pay the forfeit of their lives for an attempt to free themselves from bondage we are yet to learn. How far the destruction of so many lives as have already been taken can be justified in the eyes of a Christian world, if it can be justified at all, must depend upon what is hereafter to be disclosed. Certain it is that neither the spirit nor letter of the law under which these executions have taken place, sanctions the enormous sacrifice.

CAMDEN, N. J., STAR, QUOTED IN THE CHARLESTON MERCURY, August 26, 1822.

We by no means would be understood to justify ANY attempts in slaves to regain their liberty in any other mode than by manumission. We warn them of the awful consequences inseparably connected with an enterprise which would in all probability produce a war of extermination against them in this country, or at least by the means of rivetting the galling fetters ten-fold more firmly on the unhappy captives. If ever their emancipation be effected, it must be through the Divine agency of the light of reason, not by the sword, bloodshed, and rapine.

NEW YORK NATIONAL ADVOCATE, QUOTED IN THE WASHINGTON, D. C., NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER, July 20, 1822.

This is a rigid but necessary punishment. The safety of families, from plots thus formed, requires the strong arm of authority. Misguided persons, thus plotting the work of murder and conflagration, may give a fatal blow to a portion of our country. Whatever we may think of slavery, it is not to be denied that the domestics in the South work less and live better than many poor free men of the north. They are a lazy pampered race, and if they meditate murder when thus indulged they must suffer for it.[1]

[1]Quoted in Robert Starobin. DENMARK VESEY (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1970), pp. 86-90.

Cause and Effect

The commentary on the revolt notes that the immediate result of it was "not freedom, but a further tightening of the chains of slavery." If this was the discernible short-term effect, were there long-term effects? Did increased repression increase the possibility of greater conflict over the issue of slavery? Is it possible to trace a connection between the revolt and a long-term effect?

Have the students recall an incident where the short-term effect was quite different from the long-term implications. For example, a person's anger may have one result minutes after and quite different (and unforeseen) results two weeks later.

Have the students select any incident in history and attempt to trace a short-term and a long-term effect.

The results can be handed in as a paper or given orally to the class.

Encourage students to discuss whether or not there are analogies for cause and effect in basketball, football, chess or monopoly. Find examples where a short-term gain is a long-term loss or vice versa. N. B. All the material in Monograph I, page 11, can be used here.

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THE BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

Monograph 3: The Republic Steel Strike

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND

When in 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt flew to Chicago to accept the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, he ended his speech by saying, "I pledge you, I pledge myself a new deal for the American people." The phrase "new deal" meant very little in 1932, but it was later applied to all of the domestic reforms related to Roosevelt's administration.

When Roosevelt spoke, the nation was in the midst of a depression which was getting worse. In a nation of 130 million people there were 13 million unemployed in 1932; the number swelled to 15 million by Roosevelt's inauguration in March, 1933. One of the nation's largest corporations, United States Steel, did not have a single full-time worker by that time. As Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has written in THE CRISIS OF THE OLD ORDER. "Across the country the banks of the nation had gradually shuttered their windows and locked their doors. The very machinery of the American economy seemed to be coming to a stop. The rich and fertile nation... lay stricken."

When Franklin Roosevelt became President, he initiated a series of reforms designed to stimulate the economy and provide a balance to the economic fiber of American life by aiding the farmer and the workingman. William Leuchtenburg believes that the essence of the New Deal was balance. In his book FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW DEAL he wrote that New Deal theorists "thought the depression had been precipitated by a number of imbalances but above all they were disturbed by the disproportionate power wielded by business... [Roosevelt wanted] to serve as a balance wheel between management and labor when management was mighty and labor in industries like steel and automobiles was still pathetically weak."

The New Deal then was the name given to Roosevelt's attempt to bring the country out of the depression.

What was Philadelphia like in the Depression? An article in The Nation said, "Starvation in Philadelphia today is an accumulative starvation; starvation through undernourishment; slow starvation from insufficient food." The Evening Bulletin reported that the situation was sufficiently serious that 1800 police were undergoing special training in gas warfare.

In 1937, the year of the strike at Republic Steel, the Ferko String Band won first place in the Mummers Parade; the Lobster Club came in first in the Fancy Division. In the Rose Bowl Pittsburgh defeated the Washington Huskies 21 to 0. Ten pounds of sugar sold for 49¢ and lunchmeat was 15¢ for half a pound.

Gimbels that year advertised two-trouser suits for $12., men's shirts for 59¢, and women's coats "with rich furs" for $19.95. But how many people could afford $19.95?

At the Erlen movie, James Stewart was playing in Seventh Heaven. In Frankford Internes Can't Take Money was playing. At the Fern Rock, Ginger Rogers, who was the 25-year old "Sweetheart of America," starred in Sitting Pretty. Norma Shearer was in Romeo and Juliet at the Mayfair and the Southern at Broad and Reed advertised Hearts in Bondage with "free gifts to the ladies."

Although there were movies, "talkies" were less than ten years old and full-length technicolor films had just begun to be produced. There were no jet planes and no

Philadelphian owned a television set. There were no filter cigarettes and no aerosol spray cans. There were no ball-point pens and many city homes had outhouses. There were radios but transistors had not yet been invented, and most of today's football players, basketball players and rock stars had not yet been born.

The Philadelphia Record carried a weekly column written by a young teen-aged girl who signed her name Dorothy Deb. The column took the form of a diary with entries for each day of the week. For example, "Slept until all hours today after the Houston Ball last night. Finally managed to drag myself out of bed so I could get to Mary Knowles informal party at Strawberry Mansion this afternoon," Or on another day, "Almost got up at a respectable hour today after Emily Wallace's supper dance last night... Stuffed myself unsparingly at Peggy Lawson's luncheon at the Union League today. It was so nice to taste party food once more..."

At the same time Dorothy Deb was stuffing herself, the Mayor of Philadelphia, S. Davis Wilson, revealed a plan to help the homeless of his city. He proposed to have 150 abandoned trolley cars towed to a lot in center city where the wheels would be taken off, the seats ripped out, and the trolleys would become homes for the poor. A "trailer camp of trolleys" as the mayor envisioned it.

On May Day in 1937 there were in Philadelphia labor demonstrations so angry in mood that special details of police were assigned to Germantown and Chestnut Hill where many of the city's influential politicians lived.

In May, 1937, the Phillies were in seventh place (out of eight teams), the price of bread went from 8¢ to 9¢ per loaf, and a movie entitled Charlie Chan at the Olympics was showing in town.

President Roosevelt that year spoke of "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."

Perhaps Dorothy Deb never heard of the trolley homes for the homeless or of the workers at Republic Steel. On the same Memorial Day weekend that steel workers were shot in Chicago and John F. Kennedy celebrated his twentieth birthday, Dorothy wrote, "Slept 'till it was time to dash out to the Main Line for lunch. I felt very peppy today... Whipped down to the Corinthian Yacht Club where I got a neat tan being in the sun all day..." That was Philadelphia in 1937.

SELECTED EVENTS IN LABOR HISTORY

1. 1792 - First attempt by Philadelphia shoemakers to organize a Trade Association.

2. 1799 - Philadelphia Cordwainers conducted the first major strike in the United States. It led to a court decision in which unions were held to be illegal conspiracies.

3. 1820's to 1830 - Labor became politically active first in separate Workingmen's Parties and later within the Jacksonian Democratic Party.

4. 1839 - The Supreme Court decision in Commonwealth vs. Hunt ended the threat of criminal conspiracy against organizers of labor unions.

5. 1840's to 1850's - There were numerous efforts to organize labor but they were generally unsuccessful.

6. 1864 - Troops were used for the first time to break strikes in vital industries.

7. 1866 - The founding of the National Labor Union in Baltimore, Md. as the first "permanent" national organization of all workers in the United States.

8. 1869 - The organization of the Knights of Labor by Uriah P. Stephens as a national union for all industrial workers. It was later headed by Terrence V. Powderly. The policy of the Knights was "that it was open to anyone over 18 years of age who works for wages."

9. 1877 - The Great Railway Strike was conducted by the railway unions over wage cut issues. It became a national strike in many cities, but was finally broken by state militia and use of federal troops by President Hayes to restore "national order in transportation."

10. 1886 - The Haymarket Riot in Chicago and the resultant trials and conviction of participants discredited the Knights of Labor.

11. 1886 - The American Federation of Labor was organized under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. It was set up as an organization of skilled local craft unions structured into a national federation.

12. 1892 - The Homestead Strike against the Carnegie Steel Company by the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin workers caused violence between the union and Pinkerton detectives hired by the company. The state militia was sent to break the strike, causing the A. F. L. a sharp setback.

13. 1894 - Called by the American Railway Union, the Pullman Strike erupted in Chicago against the Pullman Car Company. Again government action broke the strike; a Federal court issued an injunction and the President sent troops. Eugene Debs, president of A. R. U., was arrested and imprisoned.

14. 1898 - The passage of the Erdman Act established compulsory arbitration and outlawed yellow dog contracts in railroad disputes.

15. 1902 - The Coal Strike against the operators in eastern Pennsylvania by the United Mine Workers union under John Mitchell caused national concern over the fuel

problem. President Theodore Roosevelt forced the coal operators into arbitration. For the first time the government was willing to consider labor's position.

16. 1905 - The Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) was formed out of dissident labor groups. They announced policies of "direct and violent action for the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth and the overthrow of capitalism." Known as the "Wobblies," they were viewed by the public as an anarchist organization.

17. 1912 - The Socialist Party, organized by Debs, tried to become the American Labor Party, but did not succeed.

18. 1913 - The U. S. Department of Labor was created as part of the Cabinet.

19. 1914 - The Clayton Anti-trust Act recognized the legality of labor unions and freed them from anti-trust laws.

20. 1919 - The Boston Police Strike attracted public attention and raised the issue of the right of public employees to strike.

21. 1920's - Labor organizations made little progress in this decade. In the public mind unions were linked to Bolshevism.

22. 1932 - The passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act protected labor's right to existence and to bargain collectively. Courts were restricted in their rights to issue injunctions.

23. 1933 - New Deal legislation was passed. The National Industrial Recovery Act (N. I. R. A.) upheld the right of an individual to bargain collectively through an organization of his own choosing. Company unions were restricted or outlawed in many cases under this act which was later declared unconstitutional.

24. 1935 - The Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act) passed in July, establishing the N. L. R. B. of three experts to "supervise the right of individuals to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." The board was to supervise union elections and prohibit unfair employer practices. Power of enforcement was exercised through the federal circuit courts.

25. 1936 - The Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) was created within the AFL to organize workers in the mass production industries.

STEEL AND UNIONS

On Sunday, July 5, 1936, local steel and coal workers wandered among the weathered tombstones of a desolate graveyard in Homestead, Pennsylvania. They searched for the graves of men who had fought in defense of the rights of common men like themselves. The forgotten graves were not those of Revolutionary War soldiers, but of laborers who had died only forty-four years before in a brutal, little battle on the outskirts of Pittsburgh.

When the graves were finally found, the men stood around the fresh wreaths of honor they had placed in Franklin cemetery and remembered how, in July 1892, the workers at the Homestead plant of the Carnegie Steel Company had refused to work unless they had a union contract.

Henry Clay Frick, the manager of the Homestead plant, swore the workers could come back under his terms or not at all.

In the darkness of the new day of July 6, 1892, Frick had arranged to have transported down the Monongahela River a group of over three hundred Pinkerton men, a small army of private police armed with Winchester rifles. The barges were towed to the beach near the Homestead plant. But like the patriots at Lexington, the strikers had been warned and were waiting when the Pinkertons threw down a plank and made ready to land. The workers considered these armed men an enemy invasion force sent to take away their rights. The first detective who tried to step on solid ground was shot. The Pinkertons then fired into the crowd of strikers.

Throughout the twelve hours of fighting, the Pinkertons continued to fire from their fort at the river's edge. The strikers tried unsuccessfully to blow them out of existence with dynamite. They also bombarded the private police with ancient cannons, but with little effect except to take off the head of one of their own men. The workers tried to float a raft in full flame against the stronghold and then sent a railcar full of blazing oil down the river's bank, but the prayers of the Pinkertons were answered and the rolling inferno stopped before it reached them.

Neither able to land nor to get their barges free, the Pinkertons found their fort had turned into a prison. Realizing their hopeless situation, they showed the white flag of surrender, but the rage of the workers was such that it was shot away. Finally, union leaders calmed the strikers enough to allow the private army to surrender.

Although ten of them lay dead, the workers had won the day.

But one battle usually does not win a war. A few days later, the governor sent the militia to protect the property of the Carnegie company and to allow imported strikebreakers to go to work at the plant. The strike was crushed, and the men who were allowed to return to their old jobs came crawling back to even lower wages than they had received before the walkout.

For over forty years, unionism in the steel industry lay almost as lifeless as the men who died in the Homestead strike.

But with the inauguration of F. D. Roosevelt in 1933, a New Deal had been promised. Throughout the nation, the spirit of labor took on new life, and the steel workers again demanded what they thought all Americans had fought for and received in 1776.

Under a hot sun on July 5, 1936, in the Franklin cemetery, Charles Scharbe read the steelworkers' Declaration of Independence. He stated that the steel companies had

> ...interfered in every way with our right to organize in independent unions, discharging many who have joined them. They have set up company-unions, forcing employees to vote in their so-called elections. They have sent among us swarms of stool-pigeons, who have spied upon us in the mills, in our meetings and even in our homes. They have kept among us armies of company gunmen with stores of machine guns, gas bombs and other weapons of warfare.
>
> We steel workers today solemnly publish and declare our independence. We say to the world: We are Americans. We shall exercise our inalienable rights to organize into a great industrial union, banded together with all our fellow steel workers.

On that same day in July, the President of the United States signed the National Labor Relations Act. This federal law, also called the Wagner Act, granted in more formal language the rights of which Charles Scharbe had spoken.

The newly formed Steel Workers Organizing Campaign met with quick success. In March 1937, all America was shocked at the news that SWOC and the giant of the industry, the United States Steel Company, had signed a contract. This agreement was reached through peaceful negotiations, but the "Little Steel" companies had no intention of following the example of their big brother. Little Steel prepared for war by buying machine guns, rifles, shotguns, gas guns, revolvers, and thousands of rounds of shot and gas ammunition.

Around the plants of Bethlehem, Inland, Youngstown, and Republic Steel, fear spread and once more workers fought and died, but it was on Memorial Day, 1937, at the South Chicago plant of Republic Steel that the most horrible conflict in the Little Steel Strike took place. On that Sunday, two thousand strikers and sympathizers gathered at Sam's Place a few blocks from the main entrance to the Republic plant. After some speeches and singing, the crowd voted to march to the gates of the plant to protest their belief that the police had taken from them the right to picket peacefully.

According to most observers, the crowd, which included women and children dressed in holiday clothes, walked more like picnickers than protesters behind the lead of two men carrying American flags.

Among the line of police waiting for them were Captain Mooney and Officer Higgins. They later said that what they saw coming was no unorganized group, but an army of wild men led by Communist agitators who intended to take the plant by storm. Mooney knew it was his duty to protect property and keep the peace. When the marchers and the police faced one another, Captain Mooney said, "In the name of the people of the State of Illinois, I demand you disperse peacefully and quietly."

Ralph Beck, a part-time reporter for the Chicago Daily News, standing behind the police lines, heard Mooney, and it seemed to him the front line of protesters appeared ready to obey, but then from back in the crowd, a branch of a tree flew among the police. An officer or two fired into the air. Rocks and clubs were hurled by some strikers. More policemen drew their weapons, some fired into the air, but others shot point-blank into the crowd. Some of the many gas bombs Republic had

purchased were discharged. After the shooting, when the protesters tried to run away, the policemen put away their guns and went to work with their clubs.

Officer Higgins told a different story from that of Beck. He swore he saw a fellow officer fire only after being knocked to the ground and threatened with a pistol. When the final count of the Memorial Day casualties was made, all ten dead were civilians. Seven died from bullets in the back, three from wounds in the side. When Higgins was asked if the police had actually been threatened face to face with weapons, then why hadn't one dead man been shot in the front, Higgins replied. "I was there,... and saw, and I cannot and will not tell lies about it."

Mrs. Lupe Marshall, housewife and volunteer social worker at Chicago's Hull House, came on Memorial Day to help a cause in which she believed. The police would list her as a Communist. She was there in the front line of marchers. With all the strength of her ninety-seven pounds on a four-foot, eleven-inch frame, she stood her ground in front of the club-swinging police. She saw the officers take out their revolvers and heard a noise that sounded to her like thunder. When she turned, the people behind her were down, splotches of blood already beginning to appear on their fallen bodies. She tried to run, but could not get through the wall of wounded. She felt her head cracked open from the smash of a police stick; blood flowed onto her white blouse. She was struck in the back, kicked in the side when down, and finally shoved into a police wagon with sixteen wounded men piled on top of one another, too weak to even straighten out their twisted bodies. She managed to make the men more comfortable. The head of the most seriously wounded she rested on her lap. He wanted one of his cigarettes, but the woman could not give it to him because they were soaked through with blood. "Never mind," he said. "Never mind, Carry on." Then the man went cold and started to stiffen.

To the policeman who rode at the back of the patrol wagon, Mrs. Marshall said his wife and children must be proud of what he had done that day.

"I didn't do that," the officer answered. "I wouldn't do that." Tears rolled down his cheeks.

After the day of dying, the strike at Republic was broken, but this time, unlike 1892, the workers were not defeated in their struggle to organize. With the New Deal, the role of government in labor-management relations had changed. It took a while, but eventually the federal government forced Republic to allow honest elections. The workers voted for the organization they wanted to represent them. With the union chosen, collective bargaining was now a reality in the steel industry.

SELECTED EVENTS IN LABOR HISTORY AFTER 1937

1. 1938 - Leaders of the Committee of Industrial Organizations decided to form an independent organization known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

   The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed to establish standards for wages and hours in labor affecting interstate commerce. Minimum wages, overtime, and child labor standards were set for employees engaged in interstate commerce or in producing goods for such.

2. 1941 - The constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act was upheld by the Supreme Court.

   Eleven million, out of a work force of 50 million, were in unions.

   W. W. II - Most unions observed a no strike pledge; however, coal mines and railroads were seized by the federal government because of strike threats. Congress overrode President Roosevelt's veto of the Smith-Connolly Anti-Strike Bill. Thirty days' notice was required before a strike vote could be taken.

3. 1945 - Within a month after victory over Japan, half a million workers were out on strike.

4. 1946 - 4.6 million workers were on strike with a loss of 116 million man-days of work.

   John L. Lewis persuaded the coal industry to establish a health and welfare fund, and to institute pensions.

   The Employment Act of 1946 was established to promote a national policy and program for assuming continuing full employment in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of industry, agriculture, labor, State and local government, and the Federal Government.

5. The Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley) was passed over President Truman's veto, and objections by labor, to require employers and unions to bargain in good faith. The following provisions were included:

   1. outlawed the closed shop and secondary boycott
   2. made unions liable for breach of contract or damages resulting from jurisdictional disputes
   3. required a 60-day cooling off period for strikes
   4. authorized an 80-day injunction against strikes that might affect national health and safety
   5. forbade political contributions from unions
   6. forbade featherbedding
   7. forbade excessive dues
   8. required union leaders to take a non-Communist oath
   9. set up a conciliation service outside the labor department

6. 1948 - President Truman ordered an end to bias in the armed forces and in federal jobs.

7. 1949 - The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 was amended relating to minimum wages and child labor.

8. 1950 - Union membership had doubled since 1940. Seven million belonged to the A. F. L., six million to the C. I. O. and two and one half million to independent unions.

   Labor became more conservative and less militant as goals were reached. Automation became a new threat to job security.

9. 1952 - The nation's steel mills were taken over by President Truman because 600,000 workers had planned to strike. Youngstown Steel sought a court injunction to stop this action. The Supreme Court ruled against the President's action. Immediately, the C. I. O. went on strike against private owners.

10. 1953 - The racket-riddled Longshoremen's Association was expelled by the A. F. L.

11. 1955 - The A. F. L. and C. I. O. merged into one unified organization of fifteen million workers. They now represented about one-fourth of all workers and about one-half of the blue-collar group.

12. 1957 - The A. F. L.-C. I. O. ousted the Teamsters' Union.

13. 1959 - The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (Landrum-Griffin) established codes of ethical practices for labor and provided federal supervision of the internal affairs of unions.

14. 1960 - A seventeen million total union membership remained unchanged since 1955.

    The guaranteed annual wage became a new goal of labor.

15. 1962 - President Kennedy announced a new government regulation recognizing the right of Federal employees to join unions and negotiate agreements on working conditions.

16. 1963 - The Supreme Court upheld agency-shop contracts as legal under the Taft-Hartley Act. Non-union employees could be required to pay a sum of money equivalent to dues to the union.

17. 1964 - The National Labor Relations Board ruled that racial discrimination by a labor union was an unfair labor practice prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act.

    The State of Indiana repealed its "right to work" law, but nineteen States continued under the Taft-Hartley Act to prevent employer and union from requiring union membership or payment of dues as a condition of employment.

18. 1967 - Seventeen unions formed a "white-collar" council of the A. F. L.-C. I. O. labor unions were now organizing large segments of the white-collar working force.

19. 1968 - The United Automobile Workers left the A. F. L.-C. I. O.

20. 1969 - The United Automobile Workers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chemical Workers Union and the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union formed the Alliance of Labor Action.

21. 1970 - The Supreme Court ordered the Sheet Metal Workers Union to admit qualified Blacks even to the extent of modifying experience requirements and journeyman examinations. These facts were to be publicized to the Black community.

22. 1973 - Since 1960, the number of white-collar workers in labor unions had increased by fifty-six percent compared with an increase of only eight percent for all other workers in unions.

SUGGESTED STUDENT ACTIVITIES

1. Consult microfilms of newspapers from the 1930's to expand on life in Philadelphia during the Depression.

2. Show the film "Inheritance" (#154112 in our film library) to promote understanding of the problems faced by immigrant workers. There is footage here of the Republic Steel Strike.

3. Have students draw a time line of the events in labor history to gain perspective on changes in the labor movement.

4. Have students compare and contrast the events of July 6, 1892, with the events of May 30, 1937.

5. Have students illustrate the events of May 30, 1937, through a series of drawings.

6. Have students draw a map of the United States and then label places where important events in labor history have taken place.

7. Assign further research activities aimed at uncovering labor history in Philadelphia. Suggest the use of newspaper microfilms and other published sources.

8. Invite industrial arts and vocational education teachers in the school to address the class on their experiences with labor unions.

9. Explain how white-collar workers and professionals have been unionized within the past decade by using various examples.

RELATED MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION

· What is the Proper Role of Government in Labor-Management Relations?

Teacher should present a summary outline tracing the evolution of this role from the early nineteenth century to the present. Material presented earlier in this unit should be of use. The following questions should be raised in the process:

1. What political and social changes in the U. S. contributed to the abandonment of the conspiracy concept of labor unions by the 1840's?

   Have some students research and report on the activities of Workingmen's Parties in the 1820's and 1830's.

2. Why did wage earners have so little political influence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? How important is organization to such influence?

   Have students list and elaborate on the obstacles to such organization during these years. To what degree are these obstacles present today?

3. Why were the courts and the police power of all levels of government used against labor organization? Consider the importance of the following:

   a. Political and social philosophy concerning the role of government in a free society — limited basically to protection of life and property.

   b. Demographic factors - population growth and movement - immigration.

   c. Psychological factors - reaction of Americans (farmers, artisans, small businessmen) to the growth of industry and an industrial proletariat.

   d. Association of labor unions with "un-American" ideas.

   Have students discuss and debate the relative importance of these factors and contribute others.

4. How did Theodore Roosevelt's actions in the mine workers' strike of 1902 change or broaden the government's role? Can the government act as an impartial referee in labor-management disputes?

   Have students suggest the things which they feel should influence governmental leaders in such disputes.

5. Which of the factors considered in #3 above were most important in determining governmental reaction to the wide-spread strikes of the early 1920's?

   Have students research and report on the Palmer Raids and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

6. Did the Wagner Act guarantee of collective bargaining mean that the U. S. government was abandoning the role of "impartial referee" and siding with labor in its continuing struggle with management?

   Have students look up the "unfair" labor practices listed in the Wagner Act and react to them. Are such restrictions "fair"?

7. Did Taft-Hartley provisions for limited use of injunctions and legalization of state "Right to Work" laws indicate a "change of heart" by government and a siding with management?

   Have students debate the issue of "Right to Work" laws and the union shop.

8. Does the increase of unionization among public employees pose new problems for government and society as a whole?

   Have students debate the following issues:

   a. Public employees' right to strike. For example, should policemen and firemen have the right to strike?

   b. Union shop among employees.

   c. Desirability of binding arbitration in disputes involving public employees.

   Have students research Public Law 195 and discuss its implications.

9. Which shall take precedence - the seniority provisions of union contracts or the rights of minorities under agreements made pursuant to federal F. E. P. C. regulations? Consider the following:

   a. The long struggle for the "rights" of unions and their members.

   b. The Civil Rights movement - the right to equal treatment and opportunity.

   Have students debate the relative importance of these factors. What other factors should be considered?

10. If labor unions have become legally accepted and recognized institutions in our society with all of the benefits which that entails, do they have a responsibility to support broad, "socially desirable" policies and programs which run counter to their own short-range desire for "more"?

    In this connection have students debate this proposition–
    Resolved: Labor unions have become an entrenched part of the Establishment. Therefore their power has to be broken before meaningful social and economic change and progress can be effected.

11. Consider the following activities:

    a. Divide the class into three groups: workers, employers and representatives of government. Have both the workers and employers list their respective rights which they feel must be protected by the government. Have the government representatives react to this.

    b. Have the students devise a skit dealing with a strike that becomes violent. Was the violence justified? Indeed, can violence ever be justified in a strike?

Oral History

The material in the text relating to Mrs. Lupe Marshall, Officer Higgins, Ralph Beck, and Captain Mooney is taken from testimony given before the Senate LaFollette Committee shortly after the Memorial Day incident.

This is an early form of the currently popular and important innovation of oral history. Modern oral historians rely primarily on the tape recorder and, while concerned with princes, are keenly aware of the force of the common man and woman in the shaping of events.

A. The students may become oral archivists by recording with tape or pen the experiences of friends or family as related to major events or movements. Areas for consideration are many. The class, for instance, might want to record the varying opinions and problems relating to labor disputes in the Philadelphia area, present day inflation/recession, Vietnam, life in the 1950's, or the proper role of the government in solving America's problems.

   As an interviewer, the student cannot expect simply to ask the informant "What do you think?" or "What was it like?" but should be prepared with background information and a list of specific questions.

B. With the raw data collected, the students would then have to deal with the problems of reliability and accuracy if they want to write history or about current events. As writers, they must seek to verify their information by the use of another source such as the memory of another person, a newspaper, or a magazine. Remember how Officer Higgins and Mrs. Marshall gave conflicting stories about the Memorial Day Massacre. Committees might edit and organize their data and present their conclusions to the class. Different committee interpretations should make clear to the class why historians often disagree about <u>what really happened</u>.

C. The lives of today's students will be the history of the future. Have the class compile a list of questions a young historian sixty years from now might decide to ask them.

   Ask and record the answers to these questions of a friend outside the class.

<u>Propaganda</u>

In 1936 an industry, with the cooperation of the National Association of Manufacturers, developed a propaganda attack to be used against unions in the event of a strike. It was known as the Mohawk Valley Formula. The elements of the formula are as follows:

1. When a strike looms, brand the leaders as agitators.
2. Create phony issues consisting of outrageous union demands.
3. Stage a meeting of citizens to coordinate sentiment against the strike.
4. Spread rumors of possible violence. Emphasize the need for law and order.
5. Build up a large armed force consisting of <u>local and state</u> police...this will demoralize the strikers.
6. Create an association of loyal employees who will stage a back-to-work movement. Even if only a few show up, announce that the reopening was successful. Welcome the returning employees with speeches.

7. Mobilize the community against the strike by insisting that the strikers are a minority.

Direct the students to add material to this which could further damage union credibility. Assign other students to develop a propaganda attack on behalf of the union. This would be a defense of a striking union and an attack on the employer.

Assign students to draw cartoons, write songs or jingles that would propagandize a pro-labor or anti-labor point of view.

Introduce students to propaganda that is both pro-labor and anti-labor if possible, dealing with the same incident. Who did the best job of propagandizing? Why?

The Element of Chance

In Meyer Levin's CITIZENS, a novel more fact than fiction, the author has a man named "Little Bull" Donovan die in the Memorial Day Massacre. This Irish-American dies wearing a union button while some of his acquaintances from his old neighborhood, including the barely disguised Captain Mooney, wear police badges. In fact one man stayed inside the gates of Republic Steel as a strikebreaker while his blood brother marched outside.

A. Have the students discuss situations of the past or present that pit brothers or people of similar background against one another. Aside from labor-management relations, possible areas of exploration might be the American Revolution and Civil War, women's rights, Vietnam, urban gang warfare. List the causes of conflict such as money, fear, prejudice, passion, principle, power, frustration, ignorance, etc., as related to each example.

B. Among the reasons why a person will take one side of a dispute rather than the other is that fate might push him in that direction. After having researched the life of a figure in American History, have the student play the part of fate, change the chosen figure's life at some point, and then follow him along the new path fate has provided. For example, have Lincoln grow up in Georgia rather than Illinois, have George Washington as a young man get an appointment as a regular officer in the British army, have Andrew Carnegie fail in his first business venture.

C. To a large extent, it was because of the Great Depression that the nation accepted New Deal legislation such as the National Labor Relations Act. Have the students envision what might happen to present-day America if it suffered a similar economic catastrophe.

D. One of the great arguments of history is concerned with the problem of whether the course of events produces "great men," or has the course of world history been shaped by great men? Would the New Deal have come without Roosevelt? Would industrial labor have been able to organize without men like Wagner and Lewis? Could men of greatness have prevented the Great Depression?

· Sing a Song of Protest

Music has always been an important part of our lives. Song has expressed our satisfaction and our anger, our contentment and our longing.

The American Labor Movement has produced a great number of songs. The most famous, of course, is "Solidarity Forever."

Student interest might be motivated by the songs of past protesters. Among many printed and recorded sources, SONGS OF WORK AND PROTEST, edited by Edith Fowke and Joe Glazer, is a rich source of one hundred songs presenting not only words and music but also background information on each piece.

A. Individuals or groups might be happy to perform some of these songs.

B. For the performing and non-performing student other worthwhile projects are also possible; an analysis of the lyrics of the songs to understand such things as the specific needs and problems of the workers, their vision of the good life, the responsibilities and pain of the women; a comparison of the songs of protest of the past and the songs of protest of today; a study of the lives of the writers of these songs and the specific motivation for their composition.

C. Have students research protest songs for other causes and perhaps from other eras as well.

D. Suggest that the students write protest lyrics to a currently popular song.

· Stereotyping

"A person, group, event, or issue considered to typify or conform to an unvarying pattern or manner, lacking any individuality." (American Heritage Dictionary)

Relate stereotyping to the Memorial Day Massacre and the labor movement in general through the following activities:

A. Break the class into groups: managers, non-strikers, police, labor organizers, and strikers. Have each group describe the people in their group: family background, economic status, political affiliation, physical characteristics, values and beliefs. Permit each group to select a spokesperson to present these descriptions to the class. Discuss the implications of each of these descriptions and how these may affect our study of this historic incident. Are they stereotypes? Why?

B. Assign the reading of Tom Girdler's and John L. Lewis' views on the Little Steel Strike in Bailey's THE AMERICAN SPIRIT, pp. 812-816. Have the class analyze Girdler's view of communism in the C.I.O. with Lewis' claim that managers like Girdler were more dangerous than communists.

C. Read the historical background of this incident. Compare and contrast the life of the unemployed with that of Dorothy Deb. Is Dorothy Deb a stereotype of the wealthy class?

D. Discuss the differences between craft and industrial unions that developed during the 1930's. Did stereotypes regarding skilled and unskilled workers lead to the formation of the C.I.O.? If so, why did these organizations merge in 1955?

E. Read the story of steelworker Henry J. Mikula, "Not Today's Wage, Tomorrow's Security" in American Labor: Dividing and Growing, pp. 41-45. The author claimed that he was "in most aspects typical of the men who make up this largest of the C.I.O. unions." Is this form of description a legitimate reporting technique or does it simplify and stereotype a more complex group?

Organized Labor and Political Parties

The mainstream of the American labor movement has never organized a separate political party to slate candidates for public office, but has heartily endorsed candidates who have shown support for labor's policies.

A. Explore this theme with your class by assigning the following research projects:

1. Interview labor leaders to determine which candidates will be supported by labor in the next election.
2. Study recent elections to determine the effect of a labor endorsement on the success or failure of a candidate.
3. Determine which political parties have received the greatest support from organized labor. Discover why this support has been withdrawn from some candidates.
4. Find out if labor is as active in primary elections as in general elections.
5. Compare and contrast the role of local and national labor organizations in supporting political candidates.
6. Determine the effect of the Taft-Hartley Act on labor's role in politics.
7. Study minor political parties organized by fringe groups in organized labor to determine the role that they have played in American politics.
8. Study labor parties in other countries to determine their effectiveness in promoting the goals of labor.
9. Look at the platform of the Socialist Party from a historical perspective to determine its impact on the two major political parties. Determine the role played by labor in helping to write political party platforms.
10. Interview workers to find out if labor endorsement of candidates affects their voting habits.
11. Interview family and friends to determine their views on labor's role in politics.

B. Have students present and discuss their individual research projects with the class.

C. Obtain classroom copies of political literature circulated by labor unions to generate discussion of labor's role in politics.

D. Invite speakers to present points of view.

1. Representatives of organized labor and management could speak to the class on the role of labor and management in elections. The United Automobile Workers Union and the Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System will be glad to help you secure speakers.

2. Representatives of major and minor political parties can present their view of the importance of labor endorsement for candidates.

E. Have debates using the following topics:

1. "Resolved: Organized labor must take control of the Democratic Party to be sure that acceptable candidates will be slated in each election."

2. "Resolved: American labor must form a new political party to rebuild confidence in the American political system."

3. "Resolved: American labor is leading this nation to socialism."

4. "Resolved: Congress must limit the political power of labor unions."

5. "Resolved: Labor unions are destroying free enterprise in America."

F. Stage a short play depicting political activities conducted by labor unions. Suggested topics include the following:

1. Endorsing candidates

2. Distributing campaign literature

3. Getting out the vote

4. Educating workers politically

5. Informing the public

6. Influencing political party platforms

More

When asked what it was that Samuel Gompers wanted for his union, the AFL, Gompers' answer was, "More." Is this a reasonable goal for a union? Is it simply a union leader wanting for his membership what is just? Or is it unrealistic and greedy?

To enable students to grasp a new perspective on unions, ask them to find similes for unions. Since it is probable that they won't know what a simile is, guide them.

For example, ask them what mechanical device is like a union, or what food is like a union. After giving them time to think about this, ask for their responses. Whether or not a simile seems far-fetched, ask the student what he means by it.

In response to this question about unions, some students in the past answered, "Unions are like a lever; a worker can move a big company," or "a union is like a roller-skate—the wheels are the union, the skate is the worker; without the wheels the skate goes nowhere." Another student used an animal simile: "A union is like a Doberman; it serves a useful purpose but people are wary of it."

You might wish to explore other figurative language often associated with labor and its role in the economy. For example, it is generally conceded that unions want an increasing share of the pie. Have students consider this question: - Can unions obtain for their members a bigger share of a static pie, or can they get "more" only if the pie gets bigger?

Cause and Effect

Historians differentiate between immediate causes and underlying causes. The immediate cause is the "spark that ignited the powder" or the "straw that broke the camel's back." Each figurative expression, however, implies other things present—powder in one; the presumption of other straws in the other. These are the underlying causes.

A. Have students research a recent strike. What caused it? Was there an incident immediately prior to the strike, or was it a series of disagreements that accumulated until "the camel's back was broken"?

B. Encourage students to find other expressions to illustrate underlying and immediate causation. (See the Related Matters entitled "More" and "The Element of Chance.")

C. Ask the students to find something close to them—personal, school, neighborhood—that will illustrate immediate and underlying causes. It should also illustrate how difficult it is to ascribe cause and effect. The section in Monograph II entitled "Bias in History" would be useful here.

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THE BICENTENNIAL AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES

Monograph 4: The Berlin Airlift

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SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The Soviet Blockade of Berlin lasted from June 1948 to May 1949. Among the most important domestic developments during this period was the growing influence of television.

In the summer of 1948 most daily newspapers carried a radio section which almost as an afterthought listed the few television shows that were offered to the public.

During that summer if you were one of the very few people in Philadelphia who owned a television, you could have turned on your set at three in the afternoon to see a test pattern—a still picture showing horizontal and vertical lines and the call letters of the station. The test pattern, and nothing else, would be on until five. It was then possible to watch such live shows as Handy Man, Face the Music and Keep Your Dog in Trim.

Most Philadelphians, however, either watched television in the window of the local appliance store, or they listened to radio—in the afternoon to shows such as Pepper Young, Kate Smith Sings, Tom Mix, or if one were a high school student, the 950 Club. In the evening popular radio shows were Inner Sanctum, Easy Aces, and a quiz show, Dr. I. Q.

The big domestic news in the summer of 1948 was the nominating conventions of the political parties. All of them were held in Philadelphia. The very day the blockade began the Republican Convention was in session. It nominated Thomas Dewey. Later the Democrats came to town and nominated Harry Truman. A third party, the Progressives, nominated Henry Wallace at Shibe Park. Both Truman and Dewey believed it was necessary to stand fast in Berlin. Wallace said that Berlin was an American colony and that we should withdraw our troops.

Truman, of course, won the election. It was the first Presidential election given widespread television coverage.

In international affairs that summer, Arabs and Israelis battled in the Middle East. Israel proclaimed its sovereignty on May 14, and on June 22 President Truman recognized the new nation.

Regarded in the United States as a monolith, the Communist Bloc nations were shaken when Tito of Yugoslavia announced that his nation would go its own way and not follow Moscow's direction.

A comparison of car advertisements then and now would show at a glance that things have changed. Not only were Mercurys and Chevrolets for sale, but La Salles, De Sotos, Crosleys and Hudsons, as well as the Nash, the Studebaker and the Packard. But if this makes it seem a remote age, the fashion page appeared more contemporary. A newspaper article in the spring of 1949 noted that denim "beloved by workmen, sailors and college girls" would be the most important fashion innovation for the coming season. For men, however, the hip style was pegged pants with a high rise above the belt.

By the spring of 1949 television no longer took a back seat to radio. Newspapers carried special television supplements. It was estimated that 600,000 people in Philadelphia regularly watched television. Sets were expensive. A seven-inch Admiral

cost $199.95, while a set with a screen as large as 16 inches could easily cost $500; and remember that was black and white television. Among the shows which fed the insatiable appetite for TV were The Toast of the Town, the Texaco Star Theatre and a puppet show called Kukla, Fran and Ollie. Television had just made the Roller Derby and wrestling huge successes. One wrestler named Gorgeous George, robed in satin with his hair in a permanent, tossed his hairpins to an admiring crowd as he entered the ring.

In the Inquirer for the week the blockade was lifted, a writer named Ollie Crawford chauvinistically wrote, "Television is sweeping the country. All the housewives have stopped sweeping to watch."

In April 1949, the musical South Pacific opened in New York and songs from it such as Some Enchanted Evening and This Nearly Was Mine were often heard on radio and television.

In May 1949, Shanghai, the largest city in China, fell to the Chinese Communists. By the end of that year, all of China was under control of the party led by Mao Tse-tung. Although American prestige suffered in Asia that May, it was enhanced in Europe when on May 12, 1949, the Blockade of Berlin was lifted.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE BERLIN AIRLIFT (June 1948)
FROM THE END OF WORLD WAR II

The events listed below are limited to those in Europe from the close of World War II in 1945 to the blockade of Berlin in June 1948.

February 1945 - The Yalta Conference was held by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to reaffirm the "unconditional surrender" formula for the Axis powers. A Declaration of Liberated Europe was issued pledging free elections for all post-war governments in the liberated states including Germany and Italy. There were additional agreements concerning territorial adjustments in Eastern Europe, particularly Poland.

May 8, 1945 - V. E. Day brought the surrender of Germany and the end of the war in Europe.

June 5, 1945 - The European Advisory Commission divided Germany into four occupation zones under the control of Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. Berlin was also divided into occupation areas by the four allied powers although the Soviet German zone surrounded it.

July-August 1945 - The Potsdam Conference was held in Germany with leaders of the Big Three (the U. S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union) in attendance. Truman, Attlee (Britain's new Prime Minister who replaced Churchill mid-conference) and Stalin agreed on a Council of Foreign Ministers which would draft treaties with all defeated nations.

August 21, 1945 - Lend-Lease aid to allied nations was ended but the United States provided over 11 billion dollars in the form of U. N. R. R. A. aid to needy nations. This was continued until May 1947.

May 1946 - The stripping of German industry for reparations was ended in the U. S. zone and a move towards a self-sustaining German economy was begun.

March 1947 - The Truman Doctrine was announced. The "Truman Doctrine" was aimed at aiding Communist - threatened nations to curb the spread of Soviet influence. It implemented a keystone of our foreign policy known as containment.

June 1947 - U. S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed his plan for full economic recovery in Europe. Aid was offered to any needy nation regardless of political doctrine and was officially called the European Recovery Program (ERP). It was passed by Congress and was widely known as the Marshall Plan.

February 1948 - Communists seized control of Czechoslovakia and ended democratic government there.

March 1948 - The Brussels Treaty was signed as a defense pact between Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg as a first step towards NATO.

May 1948 - The Allied Western Powers proposed currency reform and a unified government zone in West Berlin. The Soviets claimed that Russian currency should be used in the entire city since it was in the Russian zone.

June 23, 1948 - The Western Powers inaugurated currency reforms in Berlin despite Russian threats.

June 24, 1948 - Soviet Russia clamped a total blockade on all surface traffic between Berlin and the Western zones. This led to the beginning of the Berlin airlift.

BERLIN AIRLIFT

In the last days of Hitler's Third Reich, when the Russians conquered the gigantic pile of rubble that had once been Berlin, the magnificent capital of Germany, the Berliners, two-thirds of whom were women and children, lived through their worst fears of what conquest by the Red Army might bring.

It was not until July 1945, after the Russians had Berlin all to themselves for two months, that American and British troops arrived in the city. Under the provisions of a wartime pact, the Allies had agreed that Germany would be divided into four occupational zones. While the Russians dominated the eastern zone, the Americans, the British, and the French would command what eventually became the free nation of West Germany. Berlin, although it was surrounded by the Russian-controlled territory, was divided in a similar manner into four sectors.

As the months and years of military occupation went by, the Russians demonstrated again and again that they wanted further conquest rather than constructive cooperation with their Allies of World War II. By June 1948, the Western Nations, despite Russian objections, had committed themselves to the creation of a unified West Germany, a democratic power that would include West Berlin. At this time, by stopping all rail, highway and water transportation across their zone of Germany, the Russians began the Berlin blockade. With all help over one hundred miles away in the west, the Soviets hoped to starve the West Berliners into accepting a Communist government, a political system all Berliners had by a great majority rejected months before in an honest and free election.

When the blockade began, the Mayor of Free Berlin was Ernst Reuter, a man who had twice spent time in a Nazi concentration camp and had only escaped into Holland the day before the Gestapo came to arrest him for what would have undoubtedly been his death trip. Speaking to a crowd of cheering Berliners, Reuter said, "We shall fight with everything we have, and to the very end against this armed threat that aims to make us slaves of a one-party system. We lived in such slavery during Adolf Hitler's Reich! We've had enough of it! We don't want a return to it!"

The necessary will was there, but the Berliners could not avoid slavery without the support of the United States. Not only spirit, but food was needed to keep two million people free.

American commanders did not hesitate in their decision to help. At the suggestion of General Lucius D. Clay, American Military Governor of Germany, President Harry S. Truman ordered the start of the "Berlin Airlift." Eighty tons of milk, flour, and medicine were flown into Berlin on June 24. It was a beginning, but only a fraction of the besieged population could stay alive if the Americans couldn't do better. In the early weeks of the airlift, through a massive effort involving relocations of equipment and men from all over the world, and hard, hard, stupefying work, the tonnage per day moved up. The world marveled at the desire, the technology, and the administration involved, but still the Berliners did not receive the minimum daily requirement of 4,500 tons of supplies that had at first been estimated as necessary. If, before the blockade, the city had not been stocked with some food and fuel, the people could not have survived.

In those early days of the airlift, there was pessimism and confusion on the part of both Americans and Berliners. Many Americans, including some weary pilots,

wondered why we now delivered milk where a few years ago we dropped bombs. In August 1948, a writer in Life magazine questioned if the United States shouldn't arrange "a more or less graceful withdrawal from Berlin," rather than face a war for which America was not prepared.

If the airlift was not satisfactory, Berliners feared that the Americans, rather than trying to force supplies through on the ground, might pull out and leave them unprotected from Russian vengeance. Also, in a poll of Berliners taken in July, sixty-four per cent did not believe the airlift could be continued through winter's freezing weather.

But in spite of fear and suffering on both sides, the spirit of freedom did not weaken. The West Berliners proved themselves in many ways throughout the days of the blockade, but perhaps the best example of their determination was their overwhelming refusal to take from Communist hands the rations they did without in the free sector.

The Americans along with their British and French allies proved their determination by overcoming every technical obstacle they met, by spending millions of dollars, and by giving their lives. On July 24, 1948, two American airmen died in a crash near Templehof Airport, the first of over seventy American, British, and German men who died in air and ground accidents. In honor of these first American fatalities, a Berliner placed a plaque where they crashed. In part, it read, "We stand deeply moved on this spot which has been dedicated to your death. Once we were enemies, and yet you gave your lives for us."

When winter came, conquering ice and fog and darkness, the planes still kept coming day after day, hour after hour, so that when, because of some temporary problem, the sound of engines could not be heard, the Berliners would stop and wait nervously until the reassuring roar of freedom was heard again. The Berliners lived through a cold and hungry winter of long nights with little light, but their spirits grew stronger rather than weaker. They would endure as long as the free world helped, and the will of the free world grew stronger too.

By January 1949, the planes brought in what was considered sufficient food for each West Berliner. The spirit of friendship grew between the past enemies. From all over the United States came candy that was dropped to the children of Berlin in a daily shower of sweets by small parachutes made from discarded pieces of cloth.

Month after month, hour after hour, minute after minute, steady as a heartbeat in a healthy body, the planes flew in and out of the airports of Berlin. The challenge of winter ended. Spring came. On Easter Sunday, 1949, at the end of a twenty-four hour period, the free world pilots, while delivering over 12,900 tons of material, made 1,398 flights into the city. This record-breaking day proved before the eyes of the world that the Russians would never be successful in their attempt to bring these Berliners under their dictatorial control.

On May 12, 1949, the defeated Russians lifted the Berlin blockade.

For almost a year, West Berlin, its two million inhabitants unable to be reached except by air, had, like some giant piece of land detached from the world, floated in uncertainty. Now West Berlin had come back to earth again. It landed firmly in the free world and has stayed there ever since.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

On June 20, 1949, the Council of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers meeting in Paris reaffirmed the right of free access to Berlin by the Western Powers.

The period from June 1949 to November 1958 saw no significant change in the status of Berlin although there was some harassment of traffic moving in and out of West Berlin. During this time the three western sectors were merged and became the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The Soviet Zone became the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and East Berlin was incorporated in it. There was a great deal of fruitless discussion concerning the reunification of Germany and the status of Berlin. On October 3, 1954, the U.S., Great Britain and France found it necessary to issue a joint declaration reiterating their rights in Berlin and their determination to maintain them.

November 1958 saw the beginning of the second Berlin crisis. In speeches on November 10 and November 26 and in a note to West Germany and the Western Powers on November 27, Khrushchev demanded that the Western Powers leave Berlin and that it be made a demilitarized free city. He indicated that if this were not done within six months, he would make a separate treaty with East Germany and turn over to it the physical control of Berlin including all access routes.

The Western Powers stood firm on their rights in Berlin and a series of conferences on this question and on the question of reunification of Germany met with no results. The Soviets did not refer to their six-month "ultimatum" again and the crisis may be considered to have ended by the time Khrushchev visited the U.S. in September 1959.

The third Berlin crisis began in June 1961. In a message delivered to President Kennedy by Khrushchev in Vienna on June 4, the Soviets again demanded that Berlin be made into a demilitarized "free city" as part of an overall German settlement. They again raised the threat of a separate peace with East Germany with all that implied for the status of Berlin. The Western Powers again rejected these demands and in a TV speech on July 25 President Kennedy promised to defend "Free Berlin" and initiated measures to beef up U.S. armed forces.

These events led to a substantial and significant increase in the number of Germans who fled to the West from the Soviet zone of Berlin and from East Germany.

On August 13, 1961, the Soviets and East Germans began the process of cutting off West Berlin from East Berlin and East Germany. Starting with barbed wire fencing, they moved to the construction of the "Berlin Wall" made up of concrete blocks, pillboxes and watchtowers. By August 23 all West Berliners were forbidden to enter the Eastern sector of the city and they were warned not to approach within 100 meters of the wall.

The wall served the purpose of stopping the flow of people from the Soviet zone and East Germany into West Berlin and West Germany.

The Western Powers reacted with formal protests and actions which indicated a determination to stay in West Berlin. On August 19 Vice-President Johnson went

to West Berlin to give assurances along these lines. The following day a U. S. combat unit of 1500 arrived in West Berlin. They passed through Soviet checkpoints without incident.

The situation in Berlin has remained essentially the same since 1961. U. S. determination to retain its position there was reiterated most strongly in June of 1963 when President Kennedy visited the city and made the famous statement, "Ich bin ein Berliner."

SUGGESTED STUDENT ACTIVITIES

1. Write an essay or debate what might have happened to Germany if the United States had abandoned Berlin.

2. Write an essay or debate what might have happened if the United States had tried to break the Berlin blockade with a show of force.

3. Draw maps of Berlin and Germany to show the sectors established after World War II.

4. Role play the events leading up to the decision to use the airlift to break the blockade. Explain why President Truman decided to follow the suggestions of General Clay.

5. Write an editorial for a Philadelphia newspaper supporting or opposing the Berlin airlift. Give your reasons based on the facts for taking this stand.

6. Write an editorial for a Moscow newspaper supporting or opposing the Berlin airlift. Give your reasons based on the facts for taking this stand.

7. Construct a time line from 1945 to the present listing important events in Germany. Pinpoint the date of the Berlin airlift.

8. Find out more information about the relationship between West Germany and the United States today. Do Germans still remember the Berlin airlift and does this affect our continuing relationship?

9. Make drawings of the airplanes used in the Berlin airlift. How do these planes compare with our new jumbo jets?

10. Find out what life is like in West Berlin today. Have relations changed between East and West Germany?

RELATED MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION

· The Nature of Wartime Alliances

For the immediate goal of defeating a wartime foe, wartime alliances are created that often bring together opposing ideological and governmental systems. Throughout history, local disputes have been laid aside to meet major threats to the security of a region. After the hostilities cease and the common enemy is defeated, the close wartime cooperation of nations often collapses and other basic problems divide former allies.

Some questions for consideration here might be the following:

1. Is there value in creating an alliance with a possible enemy to defeat another?

   a. Have the students research military alliances of the past 200 years against common enemies such as the alliance of the Western democracies and the Russian Empire in World War I, and the Western Powers and the Soviet Union during World War II.

   b. Divide the class into two groups to represent opposing viewpoints: one representing democracy and the other communism. Then bring in a third group representing fascism to challenge both of the other groups. By using a forum, the students of two of the opposing ideologies can unite to combat the third.

2. Why does wartime alliance deteriorate into peacetime opposition?

   a. Have the pupils make charts showing some important wartime alliances of the modern era.

   b. Arrange a class as wartime allies and tape their goals against a common enemy. Then have the students role play delegates of the same nations after the war. Play the tapes and develop arguments against the original recorded goals.

· Which Road to Peace - Balance of Power or International Cooperation?

1. Have students write a paragraph on the subject: Can separate societies or nations of relatively equal power live in peace or does peace have to be imposed by the strong on the weak?

   Follow up by having individual students role play the following, indicating what they might have said on the subject.

   a. A Roman emperor of the first century A. D.
   b. A pope of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries
   c. Louis XIV
   d. Napoleon
   e. Metternich
   f. A British foreign minister of the nineteenth century
   g. Hitler

2. Have students explore the idea of National Sovereignty raising such questions as the following:

   a. The alleged human need for territoriality (This can be related to the concept of "turf.")

   b. Does the concept of sovereignty make effective international cooperation impossible?

   c. Is world government the only answer to peace and survival?

3. Have students compare and evaluate the League of Nations and the United Nations. Have some argue that the history of the UN shows that lessons were learned from the failure of the League while others take the opposing point of view.

4. Have students react to this statement:

   Nuclear weapons have increased the need for international cooperation but have resulted in a greater reliance on a Balance of Power.

   Do they agree or disagree? Why or why not?

Relationship of Victors to the Vanquished

When a war ends, the victor is compelled to make a decision. The vanquished must be dealt with harshly or leniently. In most cases, the victorious nation conquers the defeated one and imposes harsh terms of humiliation. The questions of occupation of territory, reparations, war guilt and partition are problems that always arise after a conflict. How to handle these matters is basic in the relationship between the conqueror and the conquered.

Here are some questions for further consideration:

1. Should the victorious nation occupy or annex territory of the vanquished?

2. Is partition of a defeated nation a satisfactory solution for the victors?

   a. Have the students research the attitudes of the Soviet Union and the Western Allies towards a divided Germany.

   b. Have students make maps showing the partitions of defeated nations after major wars.

   c. Research the partitions of France during World War II, Korea since 1945, and Vietnam after 1954.

   d. Investigate partition as a cause of Ireland's problem today.

   e. Pose the question: Does partition lead to constant guerilla warfare and terrorism?

3. Should reparations be paid to the victors by the vanquished to defray all costs of the war?

   a. Have the students research the results of German reparations to the Allies after World War I, and indemnity payments by France to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871.

b. Debate the reasons why the United States did not demand extensive reparations from Japan after World War II, or seek indemnities from North Korea after the Korean War.

4. Should admission of guilt for starting a war be an essential part of a peace treaty?

   a. Have the students research the peace treaties of the major wars since 1600. Develop a series of graphs and charts showing which treaties have war guilt clauses and which do not.

   b. Develop a panel discussion between two selected groups of pupils as to whether war guilt should be a major factor for permanent peace in a given area.

5. Should an international organization such as the United Nations be the occupier of the territory of the vanquished until a permanent peace treaty is made? Should the demands of the victors be subject to limitations by control of an international organization?

· Nature of the Cold War - Ideological or National Interest

1. Have students search for possible analogies to the Cold War in previous history. If necessary, suggest a comparison with Christian-Moslem relations in the Middle Ages and Catholic-Protestant relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What similarities and differences do they see?

2. Have students debate the following topics:

   a. Resolved: The policy of containment shows clearly that the U. S. was motivated primarily by ideological considerations in the Cold War.

   b. Resolved: Soviet acceptance of, and participation in, the Marshall Plan would have prevented the Cold War.

   c. Resolved: The Truman Doctrine did not work as well in Asia as in Europe because it was not pressed with equal vigor.

   d. Resolved: Soviet-Chinese relations in the 1960's and 1970's indicates that the ideological interpretation of the Cold War was based on a false premise.

   e. Resolved: The maintenance of NATO in its present form is incompatible with the policy of détente vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

· Military Preparedness

When the Russians imposed the Berlin blockade, the United States did not have the strength to mount a massive military operation. Until the coming of the Cold War, it had been the policy of our nation after every war to demobilize as quickly and as extensively as possible. Each new military emergency therefore found us basically unprepared.

Following are some items for discussion or research on the topic of American military preparedness.

1. What has been the importance of physical and political geography in shaping our roller coaster approach to military strength? Compare our ideal situation with that of other nations such as France or Russia.

2. How has our political philosophy affected our peacetime military policies? Compare our approach with that of nations such as Paraguay or the Republic of South Africa.

3. Trace the importance of the long-held belief that Americans could always drop their plows or their pencils, pick up a musket, and immediately perform as well as any trained soldier on earth. How effective was the Minute Man of the American Revolution? Under what circumstances was he at his best and at his worst? In the War of 1812, investigate the early militia disasters and the great victory at New Orleans. How effective was the militia system in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War? What major reforms were instituted as a result of the administrative debacle of the Spanish-American War?

4. Research the lives of the great military leaders who waited in the obscurity and dullness of military life between wars and then blazed into glory when called. What did men like Lee, Grant, Pershing, Eisenhower, Marshall, or Patton think and feel while they trained for a war that might never come?

5. Compare the treatment of Vietnam veterans with the reception given to the veterans of other wars.

6. Chart the rise and fall of military manpower and expenses over the existence of our nation.

7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining a large professional military force in the United States?

8. At some future date, will it be possible for Americans to come home again as they did before we accepted the responsibilities of world leadership? What would make this possible? A return to isolationism? World disarmament? The development of an ultimate weapon?

Effect of Foreign Policy on Domestic Policy

The post-World War II emergence of the Soviet Union as a rival power to the United States caused a great deal of alarm in this country. This was accentuated by such developments as 1) Soviet domination of eastern Europe 2) the struggle over Berlin 3) Soviet detonation of an atomic bomb and 4) Communist victory in China. Further Communist aggression in Berlin and Korea reaffirmed this fear of worldwide Communist domination.

Within the United States, hysteria was evident with the emergence of Senator Joseph McCarthy as the leader of the fight against Communism in this country. Blame for Communist success in other parts of the world was placed on Americans who "sold out" to the Communists.

This topic will provide many opportunities for study and discussion. Suggested activities might include the following:

1. Interview parents and grandparents who lived through this era in order to find out what effect this hysteria had on them.

2. Assign term papers on topics related to the era. Some examples are the following:

   a. Alger Hiss Case
   b. Rosenberg Trials
   c. McCarran-Nixon Internal Security Act of 1950
   d. Noncommunist oath of the Taft-Hartley Act
   e. Loyalty oaths by teachers
   f. House UnAmerican Activities Committee
   g. Arrest of U.S. Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act
   h. McCarran-Walter Immigration Act

3. Discuss our present relationship with the Soviet Union and other Communist nations to ascertain the effect of foreign policy on present domestic policy.

4. Survey attitudes within the class towards the Communist Party. Tie these attitudes to the McCarthy era when freedom of speech was severely restricted.

Democracy Versus Totalitarianism

The expansionist desires of the right-wing totalitarian leadership of the Nazis led Germany into World War II. Humiliating defeat and division by the Allied Powers left Germany with a dichotomy: one division was being rebuilt in the American model of elected democratic leadership, while the other section reflected the Soviet Union's communistic totalitarianism. The blockade of Berlin and the resulting airlift placed these two ideologies in conflict.

Explore this theme with your class through the following activities:

1. Divide the class into four groups: East Germans, West Germans, Americans and Russians. Have the West German group elect a leader and develop a plan for rebuilding their nation with the help of the United States as well as their own determination. The group from the Soviet Union should select a leader for the East Germans and dictate the laws for the emerging East German government. Have each group develop a position paper on the Berlin blockade and the airlift. Each position paper should reflect the ideology of the nation which the group represents.

2. Debate the following topics:

   a. Resolved: Left-wing and right-wing totalitarianism are equal threats to freedom.
   b. Resolved: The United States should have been more militant in dealing with the Berlin blockade.
   c. Resolved: The Berlin airlift proved the superiority of democratic government.

d. Resolved: West Germany could not have survived without the assistance of the United States.

3. Compare and contrast the development of East and West Germany from the post-World War II period until the present. Have the class study available statistics that show the growth of affluence in West Germany. Let the class draw inferences as to why West Germany has advanced much further than East Germany.

4. Have members of the class prepare case studies of democratic and totalitarian nations in the world today. These can be presented to the class in oral or written form. Have the class vote whether or not they would like to live in each of these nations.

5. Discuss the role of the United States as defender of democracy. Has the United States always supported democratic governments, or has the United States supported totalitarian regimes because the self-interest of the United States would better be served?

Which Book do You Read? or Bias in History Revisited

The following five selections represent various, and in some cases conflicting, interpretations of the causes of the Berlin blockade.

1. The climax of the Kremlin's campaign to thwart the Marshall Plan and the unification of Germany was the Berlin blockade. This action provoked violent controversies in the Allied Kommandatura, the four-power control council for the German capital, and resulted in Soviet withdrawal from that body on July 1. Meanwhile, in retaliation against Allied introduction of the new West German currency in Berlin, Soviet authorities on June 23 had halted all traffic to Berlin from the western zones.

   Soviet propaganda made no effort to conceal the objectives of the Berlin blockade—either to force the Allies from their advanced position behind the Iron Curtain or else to compel them to abandon their plans for West German unification.

   While the siege of Berlin proceeded from June 1948 to mid-May of 1949, the British R. A. F. and the United States Air Force accomplished a miracle of supply... The airlift cheered free men as no other event since the end of the war had done.*

2. Under the Marshall Plan, U. S. aid would be attended by U. S. control over the foreign trade and, partly, over the industry and finance of the recipient countries, with restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

   In 1946 and 1947, the British and American occupation zones were merged, and a little later the French zone, too, was merged with them. This set the scene for a far-reaching involvement of Western Germany in anti-Soviet military blocs.

*Link, Arthur S. AMERICAN EPOCH. New York, 1956.

The "Berlin crisis" was provoked by the Western occupation authorities, who carried through a separate money reform in June 1948. The Western Powers were fully aware of the grave implications of their unilateral measure. They disregarded the fact that an all-German monetary reform was then being discussed and prepared by the four occupation authorities, the U. S. S. R. included.

Here is how the events developed. On June 20, 1948, a secretly prepared separate money reform was suddenly announced in the three Western zones. The devalued old German marks instantly flooded Eastern Germany, creating a danger to its economy.

The Soviet occupation authorities were compelled to take urgent measures. To block off currency profiteers all vehicles and passengers arriving from Western Germany were thoroughly checked. At the same time, the Soviet Military Administration offered to supply food to West Berlin and thus prevent added hardships to the populations. But the Western occupation authorities rejected the offer.

The United States organized an "air bridge" to supply West Berlin by planes. This undertaking had far-reaching propaganda aims and was meant to intensify the cold war.

It was the restraint and the skill of Soviet diplomats that averted a breach of peace in those alarming months. On May 12, 1949, the Soviet Government lifted the restrictions on entry into West Berlin. This move was taken to facilitate mutual understanding with the United States, Britain and France."

3. By 1948 the leadership of Soviet Russia and of the United States over their respective halves of Europe (and also of Korea) was an accomplished fact. While Russian domination was welcomed by but a small minority of people in the eastern, American predominance was welcomed by most people in the western half of the continent, including Germany, where events were soon to test the measure of American determination. The American response to the Russian threat in Berlin was one of the finest American hours in the history of the cold war. A sense of relief and of Western Christian unity was diffused in the hearts of millions of Europeans. It was in 1948 that the term "cold war" became popular currency. ...But it was also in 1948 that the term "West" acquired a new popular historical meaning: the cold wind of the Bolshevik threat from the steppes of Asia, instead of chilling the spirit into the mortal rigor of hopeless fear, suscitated significant new fires in the European spirit; and the unity of Western Christian civilization was first felt by thinking men in Europe and America together."

4. The Marshall Plan checked the Soviet hope that economic disintegration might bring communism to western Europe. In response Moscow began to organize its own economic bloc in eastern Europe. And, as the communist political and economic offensive faltered, the Soviet Union presented the West with a

"Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. Institute of History. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE USSR. Moscow, 1965.

""Lukacs, John. A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR. New York, 1962.

new challenge in the spring of 1948, when it cut off West Berlin by blockading all highway, river, and rail traffic into the former German capital. The evident purpose was to force the Western powers out of Berlin.

Blum, John and Bruce Catton, Edmund S. Morgan, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Kenneth M. Stampp, C. Vann Woodward. THE NATIONAL EXPERIENCE. New York, 1968.

5. The zonal divisions in the West had serious organizational disadvantages, especially as the American zone was primarily agricultural and the British zone primarily industrial. In these circumstances both the British and the Americans favored amalgamating zones and the French, though unenthusiastic, finally agreed. A more specific question of difference was that of currency reform, now become essential. The West attempted to secure agreement through the Allied Control Council, but the Russian representative rejected the proposal, an action that led the Western allies to establish a new currency, the Deutschemark, for their own areas. This in turn induced the Russians to initiate currency reform in their own zone, but the introduction of the Western Deutschemark into Berlin had the effect of economically dividing the city.

   With these events as background, Stalin decided to test the resolution of the Allies by a policy of pressure in the West's most vulnerable area, Berlin. The Soviet blockade, beginning in June, 1948, cut West Berlin off from all communication by land or water. The West faced a dilemma. Capitulation to Soviet intimidation in Berlin could gravely reduce respect for the Allies in Western Germany and might cause other European States to doubt the value of American guarantees. The Allies therefore replied to Soviet pressure by a massive airlift, which grew in strength and proved to be a complete counter to the Soviet blockade. Recognizing that little tactical advantage was now to be gained, the Soviet Union called off the blockade in May 1949.

_____. CIVILIZATION, Vol. II. California, 1973.

Encourage students to pursue in greater detail the causes of the blockade of Berlin. Broaden the topic to include the causes of the Cold War.

Have students select any topic in history which interests them. Give them two or more texts and allow them to determine which text they believe presents the material in the best way. What were their criteria? By doing this the student will be thinking critically about history and, it is hoped, the nature of history.

- Humor is More Than a Laughing Matter

"God knows, even the best blockade is no bargain. But if there must be a blockade, then it's better to be blockaded by the Soviets and fed by the Americans. Just imagine if it were the other way around."

The above quote is a mild example of the "grim humor" that helped Berliners survive their brutal existence during and after World War II.

Americans in the past have been noted for their ability to laugh in the worst of situations. Do the students think we now have the ability to laugh in the face of disaster? Do they think this is a characteristic of some worth, or that serious things must be taken seriously?

Have individual or committee research and reports on American humor during such periods of distress as the American Revolution, the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression, Reconstruction, World War II, and crime during the 1920's. Less verbal students might be interested in investigating cartoons and the work of such men as Thomas Nast, James Thurber, Bill Mauldin, or Herblock.

Have committees research the humor of such men as Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, Finley Peter Dunne, Will Rogers, H. L. Mencken, Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, or Art Buchwald, and have them present a stand-up act of one-liners and/or short bits of humor of their subject's views on American problems.

Have each student take a serious problem such as gang warfare, drugs, inflation, or world starvation and make a verbal or visual lighthearted comment on it such as, "One thing about being out of work, it gives you more time to look for a job." Discuss whether this "gallows humor" has in any way given the students a greater appreciation of the problem, or whether they actually faced the problem, would it give them more courage?

Principle Versus Flexibility in Foreign Policy

In the spring of 1975 Jack Anderson, in his syndicated column "Washington Merry-Go-Round," wrote of Henry Kissinger "...he has made one great mistake. As the chief navigator of our foreign policy since 1969, he has kept the flag of American idealism lowered and has sailed the seven seas without a moral rudder. He has been willing to do what must be done to get 'results,' ready to make common cause with any pirate who controlled a useful ship." Anderson concludes this article by writing, "The foreign policy of a great democracy...must be forthright and based on principle."

Ask the students to explain what a rudder is. After they have done so, ask them what our "moral rudder" should be. What principle should guide our foreign policy? If we have a flexible foreign policy, does this mean we abandon principle?

Have the students compose a "Ten Commandments" pertaining to foreign policy. (If they come up with only two or three, that will be sufficient.) Have them write these on paper. When the assignment is completed, pin the papers to the classroom walls where the students can examine them. What principles are reflected - those of self-interest or idealism?

Physically divide the class along different points of view. Encourage discussion of their differences.

Assign students the task of comparing the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Which was the most realistic? Which the most idealistic? Why?

Discuss America's war with Mexico in 1846. Was this an example of moral bankruptcy in foreign policy or could the war be defended because it was in our self-interest?

Discuss the use of the word "tilt" in foreign policy. What should the tilt be? Should it be determined by self-interest? If so, is this an abandonment of principle?

Finally, pose the question: Should we make "common cause with any pirate" if it is in our self-interest to do so?

Cause and Effect

The cause of the Berlin blockade has been attributed by Professor Link to Soviet fear that the Allied Powers hoped to unify all of Germany. Soviet historians view the cause quite differently. They claim that "a secretly prepared separate money reform" by the three Western zones forced the Soviet Union to prevent currency profiteers from entering West Berlin through East Germany.

These differences in the interpretation of the cause of the Berlin blockade help to illuminate basic differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. Differing political and economic systems have caused fear, mistrust and conflict to dominate relationships between these nations since World War II.

Based on this information and a knowledge of recent events in the East-West struggle, develop a position paper on future relations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Show the differing effects of detente, partnership, peaceful coexistence, nuclear enemies, etc.

Role play familiar school situations where conflict is caused by fear and mistrust. Examples could be racial, ethnic and religious differences in a school, the reception of new students from a different social class, or reaction to new rules established by the administration.

Review "Cause and Effect" in the first three monographs in this series. Tie in appropriate activities to reinforce the concept that "history is a study of cause and effect."

Have the class study the events of the day through a study of newspaper articles. In each article have the class identify causes and list possible effects other than those reported.

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